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Totemism and Exogamy

A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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§ 1. *Totemism and Exogamy*

THE main facts of totemism, so far as they have been reported on trustworthy authority and are known to me, have now been laid before the reader.[1] It remains briefly to review them and to consider the general conclusions to which they point.

General similarity of totemism all over the world.

No one who has followed the preceding survey attentively can fail to be struck by the general similarity of the beliefs and customs which it has revealed in tribe after tribe of men belonging to different races and speaking different languages in many widely distant parts of the world. Differences, sometimes considerable differences, of detail do certainly occur, but on the whole the resemblances decidedly preponderate and are so many and so close that they deserve to be classed together under a common name. The name which students of the subject have bestowed on these beliefs and customs is totemism, a word borrowed from the language of one of the tribes which practises the institution; and while the introduction of new words from barbarous languages is in general to be deprecated, there is some excuse for designating by a barbarous name a barbarous institution to which the institutions of civilised nations offer no analogy.

Totemism defined.

If now, reviewing all the facts, we attempt to frame a general definition of totemism, we may perhaps say that totemism is an intimate relation which is supposed to exist between a group of kindred people on the one side and a species of

[1] Some facts which came to my knowledge too late to be inserted in their proper places will be found recorded in the "Notes and Corrections" at the end of this volume.

natural or artificial objects on the other side, which objects are called the totems of the human group. To this general definition, which probably applies to all purely totemic peoples, it should be added that the species of things which constitutes a totem is far oftener natural than artificial, and that amongst the natural species which are reckoned totems the great majority are either animals or plants.

Totemism a crude superstition, not a philosophical system.

To define exactly the relation in which totemic people stand to their totems is hardly possible; for exact definitions imply exact thoughts, and the thoughts of savages in the totemic stage are essentially vague, confused, and contradictory. As soon therefore as we attempt to give a precise and detailed account of totemism we almost inevitably fall into contradictions, since what we may say of the totemic system of one tribe may not apply without serious modifications and restrictions to the totemic system of another. We must constantly bear in mind that totemism is not a consistent philosophical system, the product of exact knowledge and high intelligence, rigorous in its definitions and logical in its deductions from them. On the contrary it is a crude superstition, the offspring of undeveloped minds, indefinite, illogical, inconsistent. Remembering this, and renouncing any attempt to give logical precision to a subject which does not admit of it, we may say that on the whole the relation in which a man stands to his totem appears to be one of friendship and kinship. He regards the animals or plants or whatever the totems may be as his friends and relations, his fathers, his brothers, and so forth. He puts them as far as he can on a footing of equality with himself and with his fellows, the members of the same totemic clan. He considers them as essentially his peers, as beings of the same sort as himself and his human kinsmen. In short, so far as it is possible to do so, he identifies himself and his fellow-clansmen with his totem. Accordingly, if the totem is a species of animals he looks upon himself and his fellows as animals of the same species; and on the other hand he regards the animals as in a sense human. Speaking of the Central Australian tribes Messrs. Spencer and Gillen observe: "The totem of any man is regarded, just as it is elsewhere, as the same thing as himself; as a native once said to us when we were discussing

The relation of a man to his totem is one of friendship and kinship; as far as possible he identifies himself with his totem.

the matter with him, 'that one,' pointing to his photograph which we had taken, 'is just the same as me; so is a kangaroo' (his totem)."[1] In these brief sentences the whole essence of totemism is summed up: totemism is an identification of a man with his totem, whether his totem be an animal, a plant, or what not.

It is a mistake to speak of a totem as a god and of totemism as a religion.

Thus it is a serious, though apparently a common, mistake to speak of a totem as a god and to say that it is worshipped by the clan. In pure totemism, such as we find it among the Australian aborigines, the totem is never a god and is never worshipped. A man no more worships his totem and regards it as his god than he worships his father and mother, his brother and his sister, and regards them as his gods. He certainly respects his totem and treats it with consideration, but the respect and consideration which he pays to it are the same that he pays to his friends and relations; hence when his totem is an edible animal or plant, he commonly, but not always, abstains from killing and eating it, just as he commonly, but not always, abstains from killing and eating his friends and relations. But to call this decent respect for his equals the worship of a god is entirely to misapprehend and misrepresent the essence of totemism. If religion implies, as it seems to do, an acknowledgment on the part of the worshipper that the object of his worship is superior to himself, then pure totemism cannot properly be called a religion at all, since a man looks upon his totem as his equal and friend, not at all as his superior, still less as his god. The system is thoroughly democratic; it is simply an imaginary brotherhood established on a footing of perfect equality between a group of people on the one side and a group of things (generally a species of animals and plants) on the other side. No doubt it may under favourable circumstances develop into a worship of animals or plants, of the sun or the moon, of the sea or the rivers, or whatever the particular totem may have been; but such worship is never found amongst the lowest savages, who have totemism in its purest form; it occurs only among peoples who have made a considerable advance in culture, and accordingly we are justified in considering it

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 202.

as a later phase of religious evolution, as a product of the disruption and decay of totemism proper.[1] Hence it is an error to speak of true totemism as a religion. As I fell into that error when I first wrote on the subject,[2] and as I fear that my example may have drawn many others after me into the same error, it is incumbent on me to confess my mistake, and to warn my readers against repeating it.

The respect which a man owes to his totem as a kinsman and friend usually prevents him from killing and eating it, when it is an edible animal or plant; but sometimes he kills and eats it for the purpose of identifying himself with it more completely.

The respect which a man owes to his totem as a kinsman and friend usually prevents him from killing and eating it, whenever the totem is an edible animal or plant. But the rule is by no means invariable. Indeed the identification of a man with his totem, which appears to be the essence of totemism, may lead the savage to adopt a precisely opposite line of conduct towards his totemic animal or plant. He may kill and eat the animal or plant for the very purpose of identifying himself with it more completely. For the savage thinks, not without some show of reason, that his bodily substance partakes of the nature of the food that he eats, and that accordingly he becomes in a very real sense the animal whose flesh he consumes or the plant whose roots or fruits he masticates and swallows. Hence if his totem is, let us say, a kangaroo, it may become his bounden duty to eat kangaroo flesh in order to identify himself physically with the animal. This obligation is recognised and carried out in practice by the natives of Central Australia; for they think that unless they thus convert themselves into their totems by occasionally eating a little of them, they will be unable magically to multiply the totemic animals and plants for the benefit of the rest of the community.[3] Further, their traditions point back to a time when their ancestors ate their totems, not only in small quantities and on rare occasions for the sake of acquiring magical power over them, but freely and habitually as if it were the most natural thing in the world for them to do so.[4] Such a custom differs from the

[1] At the same time even in Australia, the classical land of totemism, some germs of a totemic religion may be detected. See above, vol. i. pp. 141-153. So difficult is it to lay down any general propositions as to totemism which are not liable to exceptions and restrictions in particular cases.

[2] In my *Totemism*, published in 1887. See above, vol. i. pp. 4 *sqq.*

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 109 *sqq.*, 230 *sqq.*

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 238 *sqq.*

normal practice of totemic tribes, which is to abstain from killing and eating their totems; and we have seen reason to believe that among the Australian aborigines it was the older custom, since it has been partially retained by the more primitive tribes in the centre of the continent, while it has been completely abandoned by the more advanced tribes nearer to the sea, who strictly abstain from eating their totems.[1]

These differences of custom in regard to eating the totem exemplify the inconsistencies of totemism. Which of the two customs is absolutely the more primitive, it might be difficult to determine. One tribe may have adopted the one practice and another tribe the other. Some people, thinking chiefly of their corporeal relationship to their totems, may have deemed it necessary to eat the totemic animals or plants in order to maintain and strengthen the physical tie between them, just as many people eat their dead human relations for a similar purpose. This was perhaps the original theory and practice of the Australian aborigines, and the inference is confirmed by the observation that in Australia the custom of eating the bodies of dead relations as a mark of respect and affection seems to have been very widely spread.[2] On this view a tribe originally ate its totemic animals and its human dead from precisely the same motive, namely, from a wish to absorb the life of the animals or of the men, and so to identify the eater either with his totem or with his kinsfolk, between whom indeed he did not clearly distinguish. Other totemic peoples, however, fixing their attention rather on their social than on their corporeal relation to their totems, may from the first have refused to kill and eat the totemic animals, just as many savages refuse to kill and eat their relations. In Australia this custom of abstaining from the totem is common, but for the reasons I have given we may infer that it is more recent than the custom of freely eating the totem. The motive which led people to abandon the older practice was probably a growing regard for the social, and a growing disregard for the corporeal, side of the totemic bond. They thought less of themselves as animals and more of the

Perhaps the original custom was to eat the totem, and the later custom was to abstain from it. Similarly people used to eat their dead relations as a mark of respect and affection, but in later times they ceased to do so.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 230 *sqq.*

[2] See below, pp. 260 *sqq.*

animals as men. The result was a more humane and considerate treatment of their totems, which manifested itself chiefly in the refusal to kill and eat the totemic animals or plants.[1] On the whole the new attitude to the totem is kindlier, less crude and savage, than the old one; it shews some consideration for the feelings, or supposed feelings, of others, and such consideration is invariably a mark of a certain refinement of nature. So far, therefore, the adoption of the rule that a man may not kill, eat, or otherwise injure his totem probably indicates an advance in culture; it is a step towards civilisation and religion. Similarly the abandonment of the old custom of devouring dead relations is unquestionably a change for the better. In some communities the two changes may have proceeded side by side.

Differences between totemic peoples in respect of marriage; in most tribes the totemic clans are exogamous, but in some they are not so.

Among the differences which exist between the totemic systems of different tribes one of the most important is that which concerns the custom of marriage. It is a common, indeed general, rule that members of a totemic clan may not marry each other but are bound to seek their wives and husbands in another clan. This rule is called exogamy, and the proposition which has just been stated may be put in a briefer form by saying that a totemic clan is usually also exogamous. But to this rule there are very considerable exceptions. Among the tribes in the heart of Australia, particularly the Arunta, Unmatjera, Ilpirra, and Iliaura, the totemic clans are not exogamous; in other words, a man is free to marry a woman who has the same totem as himself.[2] The same holds true of the Kworafi tribe in British New Guinea,[3] of the Kacharis in Assam,[4] and of some African tribes, such as the Wahehe, Taveta, and Nandi;[5] and in regard to the numerous nation of the Bechuanas, who are subdivided into many totemic clans, there is, so far as I am aware, no clear evidence that these totemic clans are exogamous.[6] However, in such matters little reliance can be placed on merely negative evidence, since our information as to most totemic tribes is miserably defective. A people whose

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 121-123.
[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 242 *sq.*
[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 55.
[4] See below, p. 297.
[5] See above, vol. ii. pp. 404 *sq.*, 418 *sq.*, 433.
[6] See above, vol. ii. p. 378, and below, p. 304.

totemic clans, if we may call them so, were certainly not exogamous are the Samoans. Their families or clans revered each its own species of things, generally a species of animals or of plants, which the clan carefully abstained from killing and eating. Such a practice falls strictly under the general definition of totemism which I have given above, but it differs from the common variety of totemism in not being exogamous. Further, the traditions of the Central Australian tribes, which I have shewn reasons for regarding as on the whole the most primitive of all the Australian aborigines,[1] represent their ancestors as habitually marrying women of their own totems; in other words, they point back to a time when totemism existed but exogamy of the totemic groups as yet did not.[2] Indeed, the tradition of another of these Central Australian tribes, the Dieri, relates that the rule of exogamy was introduced for the express purpose of preventing men from marrying women of their own totems, as they had done before.[3] Taking the practice and the traditions of the Central Australian tribes together we may with some probability conclude that the institution of exogamy is distinct in kind and in origin from the institution of totemism, and that among the most primitive totemic tribes totemism preceded exogamy. Accordingly the totemic system of tribes which do not practise exogamy may be called pure totemism, and the totemic system of tribes which practise exogamy may be called exogamous totemism.

Totemism distinct from and older than exogamy.

Another people who possess totemism in a pure form without the admixture of exogamy are the Melanesians of the Banks' Islands, and their case is particularly instructive because it presents an almost exact parallel to that of the Arunta and other kindred tribes of Central Australia. These islanders practise both totemism and exogamy in their purest and most primitive forms, but like the Arunta and their congeners in Central Australia they keep the two institutions

The Banks' Islanders have both totemism and exogamy in their purest and most primitive forms, but like the

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 242 *sq.*, 251 *sq.*, 337 *sqq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 251 *sq.*

[3] See above, vol. ii. pp. 350-352. Of the two versions of this tradition which have been recorded by S. Gason and the Rev. Otto Siebert respectively, the version of Mr. Siebert is to be preferred, because he is a better authority than Gason, whose error on an important point he corrected. See above, vol. i. p. 148.

Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia they keep the two institutions quite distinct from each other.

perfectly distinct from each other. Their totemism is of the most primitive pattern, because their totems are not hereditary but are determined for each individual simply and solely by the fancy of his or her mother during pregnancy: their exogamy is of the most primitive pattern, because the community is bisected into two and only two exogamous classes, which we have good reason to believe to be the original and primary type of exogamy, the mother of all other exogamous systems.[1] But while the Banks' Islanders have pure totemism and pure exogamy, they do not mix the two institutions together; in other words, their exogamous classes are not totemic, and on the other hand their totemic clans, if we may so designate the groups of persons who have the same conceptional totem, are not exogamous, that is to say, a man is quite free to marry a woman who has the same conceptional totem as himself.[2] In their general principles, therefore, the totemic and exogamous systems of the Banks' Islanders and of the Central Australian aborigines are in fundamental agreement; and taken together they strongly confirm the view that totemism and exogamy, even when they are both practised by the same people, are nevertheless institutions wholly distinct from and independent of each other, though in many tribes they have crossed and blended. How the fusion has apparently been effected, in other words, how totemic clans have so often come to be exogamous, will be shewn in the sequel.[3]

Another reason for inferring the radical distinction of totemism and exogamy is that, just as totemism may exist without exogamy, so on the other hand exogamy may exist without totemism. For example, a number of tribes in Sumatra and other parts of the Indian Archipelago, the Todas of India, and the Masai of Africa, are divided into exogamous clans which are not, so far as appears, totemic. In India especially the institution of exogamy disjoined from the institution of totemism appears to be

Another reason for inferring the radical distinction of totemism and exogamy is that many peoples are exogamous without being totemic.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 272 *sqq.*, and below, pp. 105 *sqq.*

[2] This very important information was obtained by Dr. W. H. R. Rivers after my account of his discoveries in the Banks' Islands (above, vol. ii. pp. 85-101) had been printed off. The new information entirely confirms my conjecture on the subject. See also below, pp. 286 *sq.*

[3] See below, pp. 127 *sqq.*

very widespread and is shared even by the pure Aryan peoples, including the Brahmans, Rajputs, and other high castes. As the primary subject of the present investigation is totemism, and I am concerned with exogamy only so far as it is bound up with totemism, I have made no attempt to enumerate all the peoples of the world who practise exogamy apart from totemism, although I have not abstained from noticing a few such peoples who happen to be associated, whether by racial affinity or geographical situation, with totemic tribes. But pure exogamy, that is, exogamy unaccompanied by totemism, might furnish a theme for a separate treatise.

Geographical diffusion of totemism. Totemism in Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Polynesia, Indonesia, and India.

If now we turn to the geographical diffusion of totemism, whether in its pure or its exogamous form, we may observe that the institution appears to occur universally among the aborigines of Australia, the western islanders of Torres Straits, and the coast tribes of British New Guinea. It is common in one shape or another among the Melanesians from the Admiralty Islands on the north-west to Fiji on the south-east. In Polynesia it occurs among the Pelew Islanders and in a developed or decayed form among the Samoans, and indications of it have been recorded in Rotuma, Tikopia, and other islands of the vast archipelago or rather cluster of archipelagoes which stud the Pacific. It is found in a typical form among the Battas of Sumatra and less clearly defined among other tribes of Indonesia. In India it is widespread, and may well have been at one time universal, among the Dravidian races who probably form the aboriginal population of Hindoostan; and it appears to be shared by some of the Mongoloid tribes of Assam.[1] But on the frontiers of British India the institution, or at all events the record of it, stops abruptly. In Africa it has been found among so many Bantu tribes both of the south and of the centre that we may reasonably suppose it to be a characteristic institution of the Bantu stock. Beyond the vast region occupied by the pure Bantus totemism has been discovered among those tribes of mixed Hamitic blood, as well as among some of those tribes of Nilotic negroes, who border on the Bantu

Totemism in Africa.

[1] For the evidence of totemism in Assam, see above, vol. ii. pp. 318 *sqq.*, and below, pp. 295-300.

peoples in Eastern and Central Africa. Among the pure negroes of Western Africa the totemic system is practised in more or less normal forms by many tribes of the Slave Coast, the Gold Coast, the Ivory Coast, and Senegambia, as well as by some scattered communities of heathen Hausas, which still appear like islets above the rising flood of Mohammedanism which threatens to swamp the whole of aboriginal Africa. In North America totemism seems to have been universal among the settled and agricultural tribes of the East and South; to have occurred among some of the hunting tribes of the great central prairies; and to have been wholly unknown to the much ruder savages who occupied the rich and beautiful country, the garden of the United States, which stretches from the Rocky Mountains to the waters of the Pacific. Further to the north totemism reappears among some of the fishing and hunting tribes of British Columbia and Alaska, who are either hemmed in between the rainy, densely wooded mountains and the sea or roam the dreary steppes of the interior. But it vanishes again among their neighbours, the Eskimo, on the icy shores of the Arctic Ocean. In tropical South America totemism has been detected among the Goajiros of Colombia and the Arawaks of Guiana; and perhaps it exists among the Araucanians or Moluches of Southern Chili. Judging by the analogy of their kinsmen in North America we may surmise that the institution is or has been practised by many more tribes of South America, though the traces of it among them are few and faint.

Totemism in North and South America.

On the other hand, totemism has not been found as a living institution in any part of Northern Africa, Europe, or Asia, with the single exception of India; in other words, it appears to be absent, either wholly or for the most part, from two of the three continents which together make up the land surface of the Old World, as well as from the adjacent portion of the third. Nor has it been demonstrated beyond the reach of reasonable doubt that the institution ever obtained among any of the three great families of mankind which have played the most conspicuous parts in history—the Aryan, the Semitic, and the Turanian. It is true that learned and able writers have sought to prove the

Totemism has not been found in Europe and North Africa, nor in Asia, except in India, nor has it been proved to have been practised by the Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian families of mankind.

former existence of totemism both among the Semites[1] and among the Aryans, notably among the ancient Greeks and Celts;[2] but so far as I have studied the evidence adduced to support these conclusions I have to confess that it leaves me doubtful or unconvinced. To a great extent it consists of myths, legends, and superstitions about plants and animals which, though they bear a certain resemblance to totemism, may have originated quite independently of it. Accordingly I have preferred not to discuss the difficult and intricate question of Semitic and Aryan totemism. In the body of facts which I have collected and presented to the reader future enquirers may find materials for instituting a comparison between the actual totemism of savages and the supposed vestiges of it among the civilised races of ancient or modern times. It is possible that their researches may yet shed light on this obscure problem and perhaps finally solve it. I shall be content if I have helped to smooth the way towards a solution.

The system of relationship employed by all totemic peoples appears to be classificatory, but the system of relationship of the Aryan and Semitic peoples is descriptive.

At the same time I am bound to point out a serious obstacle which the theory of Semitic and Aryan totemism has to encounter, and with which its advocates appear not to have reckoned. That obstacle is the classificatory system of relationship. So far as the systems of relationship employed by totemic peoples are known to us, they appear to be without a single exception classificatory, not descriptive; and accordingly we may reasonably infer that wherever the classificatory system of relationship is absent, as it is among the Semites and the Aryans, there totemism is absent also. It is true that the classificatory system has apparently in itself no necessary connection with totemism, and that the

[1] The case for totemism among the Semites has been argued with his usual acumen and learning by W. Robertson Smith, in his book *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885; Second Edition, London, 1903).

[2] Among the advocates of Greek and Celtic totemism is my learned and ingenious friend M. Solomon Reinach. See his *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) pp. 9 *sqq.*, 30 *sqq.* Mr. G. L. Gomme has collected what he believes to be relics of totemism in the British Islands. See his articles "Totemism in Britain," *The Archæological Review*, iii. (1889) pp. 217-242, 350-375; *id.*, *Folklore as an Historical Science* (London, 1908), pp. 276 *sqq.* Mr. N. W. Thomas has done the same for Wales. See his article "La Survivance du culte totémique des animaux et les rites agraires dans le pays de Galles," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxxviii. (1898) pp. 295-347.

two things might, so far as we see, quite well exist apart. The necessary connection of the classificatory system, as I shall point out presently, is not with totemism but with exogamy. But to say this is only to raise the difficulty of Aryan and Semitic totemism in another form. For no Semitic people and no Aryan people, except the Hindoos, is known for certain to have been exogamous. Thus if the theory of Aryan and Semitic totemism is to be established, its advocates must shew, not only how the Aryans and the Semites have lost that institution, but how they have lost the institutions of exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship as well.

Totemism is peculiar to the dark-skinned and least civilised races of mankind, who occupy the Tropics, the Southern Hemisphere and North America.

If we exclude hypotheses and confine ourselves to facts, we may say broadly that totemism is practised by many savage and barbarous peoples, the lower races as we call them, who occupy the continents and islands of the tropics and the Southern Hemisphere, together with a large part of North America, and whose complexion shades off from coal black through dark brown to red. With the somewhat doubtful exception of a few Mongoloid tribes in Assam, no yellow and no white race is totemic. Thus if civilisation varies on the whole, as it seems to do, directly with complexion, increasing or diminishing with the blanching or darkening of the skin, we may lay it down as a general proposition that totemism is an institution peculiar to the dark-complexioned and least civilised races of mankind who are spread over the Tropics and the Southern Hemisphere, but have also overflowed into North America.

Totemism appears to have originated independently in several centres.

The question naturally suggests itself, How has totemism been diffused through so large a part of the human race and over so vast an area of the world? Two answers at least are possible. On the one hand, it may have originated in a single centre and spread thence either through peaceful intercourse between neighbouring peoples or through the migrations and conquests of the people with whom the institution took its rise. Or, on the other hand, it may have sprung up independently in many different tribes as a product of certain general laws of intellectual and social development common to all races of men who are descended from the same stock. However, these two solutions of the

problem are not mutually exclusive; for totemism may have arisen independently in a number of tribes and have spread from them to others. There is some indication of such a diffusion of totemism from tribe to tribe on the North-West coast of America. But a glance at a totemic map of the world may convince us of the difficulty of accounting for the spread of totemism on the theory of a single origin. Such a theory might have been plausible enough if the totemic peoples had been congregated together in the huge compact mass of land which under the names of Europe, Asia, and Africa makes up the greater part of the habitable globe. But on the contrary the tribes which practise totemism are scattered far apart from each other over that portion of the world in which the ocean greatly predominates in area over the land. Seas which to the savage might well seem boundless and impassable roll between the totemic peoples of Australia, India, Africa, and America. What communication was possible, for instance, between the savage aborigines of Southern India and the savage aborigines of North-Eastern America, between the Dravidians and the Iroquois? or again between the tribes of New South Wales and the tribes of Southern Africa, between the Kamilaroi and the Herero? So far as the systems of totemism and kinship among these widely sundered peoples agree with each other, it seems easier to explain their agreement, on the theory of independent origin, as the result of similar minds acting alike to meet the pressure of similar needs. And the immense seas which divide the totemic tribes from each other may suggest a reason why savagery in general and totemism in particular have lingered so long in this portion of the world. The physical barriers which divide mankind, by preventing the free interchange of ideas, are so many impediments to intellectual and moral progress, so many clogs on the advance of civilisation. We need not wonder, therefore, that savagery has kept its seat longest in the Southern Hemisphere and in the New World, which may be called the Oceanic regions of the globe; while on the contrary civilisation had its earliest homes in the great continental area of Europe, Asia, and North Africa, where primitive

Why savagery has lingered longest in the Oceanic regions of the world.

men, as yet unable to battle with the ocean, could communicate freely with each other by land.

The history of totemism is unknown; but though it has only been discovered in modern times it is probably very ancient.

The history of totemism is unknown. Our earliest notices of it date only from the seventeenth century and consist of a few scanty references in the reports written from North America by Jesuit missionaries among the Indians. The eighteenth century added but little to our information on the subject. It was not until the great scientific Renaissance of the nineteenth century that men awoke to the need of studying savagery, and among the additions which the new study made to knowledge not the least important were the discoveries of totemism, exogamy, and the classificatory system of relationship. The discoveries of totemism and exogamy were the work above all of the Scotchman J. F. McLennan; the discovery of the classificatory system of relationship was due to the American L. H. Morgan alone. Unfortunately neither of these great students appreciated the work of the other, and they engaged in bitter and barren controversy over it. We who profit by their genius and labours can now see how the work of each fits into and supplements that of the other. The history of the classificatory system, like that of totemism, is quite unknown; civilised men seem to have had no inkling of its existence till the nineteenth century.[1] Yet we cannot doubt that despite the shortness of their historical record both totemism and the classificatory system of relationship are exceedingly ancient. Of the two it is probable that totemism is much the older. For the classificatory system, as we shall see presently, is founded on exogamy, and there are good grounds for thinking that exogamy is later than totemism.[2]

Yet ancient as totemism appears to be, there is no reason to

A strong argument in favour of the antiquity both of totemism and of the classificatory system is their occurrence among some of the most savage and least progressive races of men; for as these rude tribes cannot have borrowed the

[1] The earliest notice of it appears to be the one which the Indian agent, Major John Dougherty, supplied to Major Long's exploring expedition in 1819 or 1820. See above, vol. iii. pp. 114 *sq.* But this account was restricted to the Omaha form of the system; Dougherty apparently did not suspect that the system was widely spread among the Indian tribes, much less that it is diffused over a great part of the world. That discovery was reserved for L. H. Morgan.

[2] See above, pp. 8-10, and below, pp. 112 *sqq.*

institutions from more civilised peoples, we are obliged to conclude that they evolved them at a level of culture even lower than that at which we find them. Yet it would doubtless be a mistake to imagine that even totemism is a product of absolutely primitive man. As I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] all existing savages are probably far indeed removed from the condition in which our remote ancestors were when they ceased to be bestial and began to be human. The embryonic age of humanity lies many thousands, perhaps millions, of years behind us, and no means of research at present known to us hold out the least prospect that we shall ever be able to fill up this enormous gap in the historical record. It is, therefore, only in a relative sense, by comparison with civilised men, that we may legitimately describe any living race of savages as primitive. If we could compare these primitive savages with their oldest human ancestors we should find no doubt that in the interval the progress of intelligence, morality, and the arts of life has been prodigious; indeed in all these respects the chasm which divides the modern from the ancient savage may very well be much deeper and wider than that which divides the lowest modern savage from a Shakespeare or a Newton. Hence, even if we could carry ourselves back in time to the very beginnings of totemism, there is no reason to suppose that we should find its authors to be truly primaeval men. The cradle of totemism was not, so far as we can conjecture, the cradle of humanity.

suppose that it is coeval with absolutely primitive man.

At the present time the institution of totemism exists and flourishes among races at very different levels of culture. In Australia it is practised by the rudest of savages, who subsist purely by hunting and by the wild fruits of the earth, and who have never learned to till the ground or to domesticate any animal but the dog. In Torres Straits, New Guinea, Melanesia, and Polynesia the totemic tribes live chiefly by agriculture or horticulture. In North America some maintained themselves almost wholly by the chase or by fishing; many others eked out their subsistence by cultivating the soil; and some, such as the Pueblo Indians, were and are husbandmen pure and simple. In Africa

At the present time totemism exists among races at very different stages of culture, from hunting and fishing tribes up to pastoral, agricultural, commercial,

[1] *The Scope of Social Anthropology* (London, 1908), pp. 7 *sqq.*

and industrial peoples.

certain totemic tribes, such as the Herero, the Bahima, and some of the Banyoro, are purely pastoral, living on the products of their flocks and herds with very little admixture of vegetable food. Others unite the occupations of the herdsman and the farmer, or live chiefly, like the Baganda, on the fruits of the ground which they cultivate. In India the range of occupations followed by totemic tribes or castes is still greater; for it extends from hunting and the herding of cattle to agriculture, commerce, and the mechanical arts, such as weaving, leather-making, stone-cutting, and so forth. From this we may gather that, while totemism no doubt originated in the purely hunting stage of society, there is nothing in the institution itself incompatible with the pastoral, agricultural, even the commercial and industrial modes of life, since in point of fact it remains to this day in vogue among hunters, fishers, farmers, traders, weavers, leather-makers, and stone-masons, not to mention the less reputable professions of quackery, fortune-telling, and robbery.

In some totemic tribes there is an elementary division of labour between the clans; but this division, being based on magic, is economically barren.

A remarkable feature in the social system of some totemic tribes is an elementary division of labour between the clans which together compose the tribe. Each clan is believed to possess a magical control over its totem, and this magical power it is bound to exercise for the good of the community. As totems most commonly consist of edible animals and plants, the ceremonies performed by the totemic clans often, if not generally, aim at multiplying these animals and plants in order that they may be eaten by the people; in other words, the purpose of the ceremonies is to ensure a supply of food for the tribe. Not, however, that they are limited to this function. Other ceremonies are performed to make the rain to fall, the sun to shine, and the wind to blow. In short the various totemic clans perform their magical rites and chant their spells for the purpose of regulating the course of nature and accommodating it to the needs of man. Thus a totemic tribe organised on these principles may be described as a co-operative supply association composed of groups of magicians, each group charged with the management of a particular department of nature. Communities of this sort are best known to us among the tribes of Central Australia, but they have probably existed

in a more or less developed form wherever totemism has flourished.[1] The principle on which they are implicitly based is the division of labour, a sound economic principle which properly applied cannot fail to be fruitful of good results; but misapplied by totemism to magic it is necessarily barren. It is true that in Uganda, that remarkable African kingdom where the Bantu race has touched its high-water level of culture, the totemic clans have made some progress towards a system of hereditary professional castes or occupations based on a division of economic and fruitful labour between them.[2] But we have only to examine the tasks assigned to the various Baganda clans to perceive that these tasks have nothing to do with their totems. For example, the members of one clan have been from time immemorial hunters of elephants. But their totem is not the elephant, it is the reed-buck.[3] The members of another clan have been, father and son, smiths and workers of iron for generations. But their totem is not iron, it is a tailless cow.[4] The hereditary duty of another clan is to make bark-cloths for the king. But their totem is not bark-cloth, it is the otter.[5] And so with the rest. Thus the superficial resemblance which the totemic system of the Baganda presents to a true economic division of labour is in fact deceptive; the division of labour indeed exists but it is not totemic.

Theory that totemism may have led the way to agriculture, the domestication of animals, and perhaps to the use of the metals.

But if totemism as such has not fostered economic progress directly, it may have done so indirectly. In fact it might perhaps be argued that accidentally totemism has led the way to agriculture and the domestication of animals, possibly even to the use of the metals. Its claims to these great discoveries and inventions are indeed very slender, but perhaps they are not quite beneath notice. In regard to agriculture I have already pointed out how the magical ceremonies performed by the Grass-seed clan of the Kaitish might easily lead to a rational cultivation of grass.[6] The Kaitish, like all the aborigines of Australia, are in their native state totally ignorant of the simple truth that a seed planted in the ground will grow and multiply. Hence it

A rational system of agriculture may pos-

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 104-138.
[2] See above, vol. ii. p. 505.
[3] Above, vol. ii. p. 496.
[4] Above, vol. ii. p. 497.
[5] Above, vol. ii. p. 481.
[6] See above, vol. i. pp. 214-218.

sibly have originated in magical ceremonies intended to make seeds grow.

has never occurred to them to sow seed in order to obtain a crop. But though they do not adopt this rational mode of accomplishing their end, they have recourse to many irrational and absurd ceremonies for making the grass to grow and bear seed. Amongst other things the headman of the Grass-seed clan takes a quantity of grass-seed in his mouth and blows the seeds about in all directions. So far as the Grass-seed man's mind is concerned, this ceremony of blowing seeds about is precisely on a level with the ceremony of pouring his own blood on stones, which a man of the kangaroo totem performs with great solemnity for the purpose of multiplying kangaroos. But in the eyes of nature and in our eyes the two ceremonies have very different values. We know that we may pour our blood on stones till we die without producing a single kangaroo from the stones; but we also know that if we blow seeds about in the air some of them are very likely to sink into the ground, germinate, and bear fruit after their kind. Even the savage might in time learn to perceive that though grass certainly springs from the ground where the Grass-seed man blew the seed about, no kangaroos ever spring from the stones which have been fertilised with the blood of a Kangaroo man; and if this simple truth had once firmly impressed itself on a blank page of his mind, the Grass-seed man might continue to scatter grass-seed with very good effect long after the Kangaroo man had ceased to bedabble rocks with his gore in the vain expectation of producing a crop of kangaroos. Thus with the advance of knowledge the magic of the Grass-seed man would rise in public esteem, while that of the Kangaroo man would fall into disrepute. From such humble beginnings a rational system of agriculture might in the course of ages be developed.

Totemism may perhaps have led men to tame and breed their totemic animals, and so

On the other hand it is possible that people who have animals for their totems may sometimes accidentally resort to more effective modes of multiplying them than pouring blood on stones. They may in fact capture and tame the animals and breed them in captivity. Totemism may thus have led to the domestication of cattle.[1] Unfortunately

[1] The suggestion that totemism may perhaps have led to the domestication of animals and plants was first, so far as I know, put forward by me in

some of the principal totemic areas of the world, such as Australia, Melanesia, and North America, have been very scantily furnished by nature with useful animals which are capable of domestication. In Australia the only animal which the aborigines commonly succeeded in domesticating was the dog, and the wild dog is a totem in many tribes.[1] But there is nothing to shew or to suggest that the domestication of the dog is due to the exertions of Wild Dog men. It is true that ceremonies for the multiplication of wild dogs were performed by people who had wild dogs for their totems, but these ceremonies appear to have been but little calculated to produce the desired result: at the best they were characterised by absurdity and at the worst by obscenity.[2] Similarly in the western islands of Torres Straits there was a Dog clan, the members of which were supposed to understand the habits of dogs and to exercise special control over them;[3] but in what these endowments consisted does not appear, and there is nothing to indicate that they included the art of taming and breeding the animals.

may have brought about the domestication of cattle.

Tame dogs in Australia and Torres Straits.

Again, we hear of an Australian medicine-man who had lace-lizards for his personal totem or guardian spirit and who accordingly kept a tame lizard; and we read of another medicine-man who had a tame brown snake for his familiar.[4] Both snakes and lizards of many kinds are common totems of Australian clans;[5] both animals are eaten, and ceremonies are performed for the multiplication of snakes;[6] but the natives seem never to have thought of keeping and breeding them for food. One cause which may have operated to prevent such an idea from crossing their minds might be sheer ignorance of the way in which animals are propagated; for ignorant as many of the

Tame snakes and lizards in Australia.

Totemism (see above, vol. i. p. 87). It has since been developed by Dr. F. B. Jevons (*Introduction to the History of Religion*, London, 1896, pp. 113 *sqq.*, 210 *sqq.*) and M. Salomon Reinach (*Cultes, Mythes et Religion*, i. Paris, 1905, pp. 86 *sqq.*).

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 768.

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 209, 359 *sq.* That the obscene ceremony was intended to multiply dogs is expressly affirmed; that the absurd one was so designed is not expressly affirmed but is highly probable.

[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 9.

[4] Above, vol. i. p. 497.

[5] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 770 *sq.*

[6] See above, vol. i. pp. 222 *sqq.*, 359 *sq.*

Australian tribes are of the mechanism of propagation in the human species they could hardly understand it better in the lower animals. But the childish improvidence of these low savages might suffice, without any deeper cause, to exclude from their thoughts the notion of rearing animals and cultivating plants for food. A race which has never, so far as appears, laid up stores of food in a time of plenty to serve as a resource in a time of dearth was not likely to provide for a comparatively distant future by the domestication of animals and the cultivation of plants, two processes which require not only foresight but self-abnegation in those who practise them, since it is necessary to sacrifice an immediate gain, whether in the shape of seed or of breeding animals, for the sake of a remoter profit in the future. Of that foresight and that self-abnegation savages at the level of the Australian aborigines appear to be incapable.

Tame dogs in North America.

In North America, as in Australia, the only animal which the aborigines before the coming of the whites regularly tamed was the dog. The animal was occasionally one of their totems;[1] and the annual burnt-sacrifice of a white dog at the New Year was the most solemn religious rite of the Iroquois.[2] But the sacrifice had nothing to do with totemism, for the dog was not an Iroquois totem, and the animal appears to have played but an insignificant part in the life and religious beliefs of the American Indians. They sometimes ate dog's flesh at a banquet, but they reared the animals only for the purpose of the chase.[3] The enormous herds of buffaloes which roamed the great prairies furnished the wandering Indian tribes with a great part of their subsistence, but the animal was never tamed by them.

Tame cattle in Africa, especially among the Bantu peoples.

In Africa nature was far more bounteous to man than in the arid steppes of Australia or even in the plains and forests of North America. Besides the profusion of vegetable food with which she spread a table for him in the wilderness, she provided him with an abundant supply of

[1] For some examples see vol. iii. pp. 44, 78, 79.

[2] L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (Rochester, 1851), pp. 207 *sq.*, 215 *sqq.*

[3] Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, v. 176; Th. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iii. (Leipsic, 1862) p. 87.

animals capable of being broken in to his service, nor did he fail to take advantage of his opportunities. The Bantu peoples are pre-eminently breeders of cattle; with many of them the care of their herds is an absorbing pursuit and they lavish their affection on the animals. Accordingly some totemic tribes in Africa, such as the Herero, Wahehe, Bahima, and Banyoro, are mainly or exclusively herdsmen, and their totemic taboos refer in great measure to the different kinds or the different parts of their cattle.[1] But these pastoral peoples appear to have owned their herds from time immemorial, and the mode in which their forefathers acquired them is totally forgotten. At least I do not remember to have met with any tradition to the effect that a totemic regard for wild cattle was the motive which led them to capture and domesticate the ancestors of their present herds. Be that as it may, we can hardly doubt that the extraordinary richness of the African fauna and flora, as contrasted with the comparative meagreness of animal and plant life in Australia and North America, has been one of the chief factors in raising some of the totemic tribes of Africa to a higher level of culture, both material and political, than was ever reached by the Australian aborigines or the North American Indians. In these respects totemic society touched its highest points in the despotic kingdoms of Ashantee, Dahomey, and Uganda.

The metals.

When we turn to the useful metals the advantage is again found to be with the natives of Africa as compared with their totemic brethren of Australia and North America. The Australian aborigines knew nothing of the metals; the North American Indians were indeed acquainted with copper, which occurs abundantly in a virgin state about Lake Superior and in some parts of North-West America, but they made little use of it except for ornament, unless we reckon among its uses the employment of large copper plates or shields as a species of currency.[2] In Africa on the other hand iron has been worked by the natives both

Copper in North America.

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 358, 362 *sq.*, 404 *sq.*, 516 *sqq.*, 536.

[2] See above, vol. iii. pp. 48, 262, with the note on p. 263. As to copper in Alaska compare W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 477.

of the negro and of the Bantu stock time out of mind;[1] indeed a competent authority has lately argued that tropical Africa is the land from which the art of working the metal spread in the course of ages to Egypt, Western Asia, and Europe.[2] Iron is the totem of a Bechuana tribe; but far from being smiths by profession the members of the tribe are actually forbidden to work the metal.[3] Further, we have seen that among the Baganda the hereditary smiths belong to a clan which has for its totem not iron but a tailless cow,[4] an animal of which the relation to smithcraft is far from obvious. In India iron is a totem of an Oraon clan, and members of the clan may never touch iron with their tongue or lips.[5] Again, gold and silver are common totems in India; members of a Gold clan are sometimes forbidden to wear certain golden ornaments, and similarly members of a Silver clan are sometimes forbidden to wear certain silver ornaments.[6] These things do not suggest that mankind is in any way indebted to totemism for the discovery either of the useful or of the precious metals. Indeed they rather indicate a religious awe, approaching to positive aversion, for iron, gold, and silver; and such a feeling is hardly compatible with the business of an ironsmith, a goldsmith, or a silversmith.

Iron in Africa and India.

Gold and silver in India.

On the whole, then, there is little to shew that totemism has contributed anything to the economic progress of mankind. Still from the nature of the case evidence would be hard to obtain, and from its absence we cannot safely conclude that the institution has been as economically barren as it seems to be. With the possible exception of the Battas of Sumatra, no totemic people has ever independently invented a system of writing,[7] and without written documents

If totemism has done little to foster economic progress, it has done something to stimulate art.

[1] Th. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, ii. (Leipsic, 1860) pp. 97 *sqq.*, 385 *sq.*

[2] F. von Luschan, "Eisentechnik in Afrika," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xli. (1909) pp. 22 *sqq.*

[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 374.

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 497.

[5] See above, vol. ii. p. 289.

[6] See above, vol. ii. pp. 231, 232, 245, 270, 271, 272, 277, 280, 295, 296.

[7] It is true that a Cherokee Indian invented an alphabet or syllabary of his native language, but he naturally borrowed the idea of it from the whites. See above, vol. iii. p. 184. As to the written language of the Battas, see above, vol. ii. p. 185. The origin of their alphabet appears to be unknown.

what accurate records could there be of events so remote in the past as the discovery of the metals, the domestication of animals, and the invention of agriculture? But while totemism has not demonstrably enlarged the material resources or increased the wealth of its votaries, it seems unquestionably to have done something to stir in them a sense of art and to improve the manual dexterity which is requisite to embody artistic ideals. If it was not the mother, it has been the foster-mother of painting and sculpture. The rude drawings on the ground, in which the natives of Central Australia depict with a few simple colours their totems and the scenes of their native land,[1] may be said to represent the germ of that long development which under happier skies blossomed out into the frescoes of Michael Angelo, the cartoons of Raphael, the glowing canvasses of Titian, and the unearthly splendours of Turner's divine creations. And among these same primitive savages totemism has suggested a beginning of plastic as well as of pictorial art; for in the magical ceremonies which they perform for the multiplication or the control of their totems they occasionally fashion great images of the totemic animals, sometimes constructing out of boughs the effigy of a witchetty grub in its chrysalis state, sometimes moulding a long tortuous mound of wet sand into the likeness of a wriggling water-snake.[2] Now it is to be observed that the motive which leads the Australian aborigines to represent their totems in pictorial or in plastic forms is not a purely aesthetic one; it is not a delight in art for art's sake. Their aim is thoroughly practical; it is either to multiply magically the creatures that they may be eaten, or to repress them magically that they may not harm their votaries. In short in all such cases art is merely the handmaid of magic; it is employed as an instrument by the totemic magicians to ensure a supply of food or to accomplish some other desirable object. Thus in Australia as in many other parts of the world magic may with some show of reason be called the nursing mother of art.

The magical totemic drawings of the Central Australians.

Magic the nursing mother of art.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 106, 223. On the relation of such magical pictures to the origin of art, see M. Salomon Reinach, "L'Art et la Magie," *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) pp. 125 *sqq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 106, 144 *sq.*

The Hebrew prohibition of images was probably directed against their use in magic.

We may suspect that the use which magicians make of images in order to compel the beings represented by them, whether animals, or men, or gods, to work their will, was the real practice which the Hebrew legislator had in view when he penned the commandment: "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them."[1] The theory of Renan, that this commandment had no deeper foundation than the reluctance which a tribe of nomadic herdsmen would naturally feel to encumber themselves and their beasts with a useless load of images on their wanderings,[2] seems scarcely a sufficient explanation. Why solemnly forbid men to do what a simple regard for their own personal comfort and convenience would of itself prevent them from doing? On the other hand magicians of old really believed that by their magical images, their ceremonies and incantations, they could compel the gods to obey them; and in ancient Egypt, for example, this belief did not remain a mere theological dogma, it was logically carried out in practice for the purpose of wringing from a deity boons which he would only stand and deliver on compulsion.[3] These black arts of their powerful neighbours were doubtless familiar to the Hebrews, and may have found many imitators among them. But to deeply religious minds, imbued with a profound sense of the divine majesty and goodness, these attempts to take heaven by storm must have appeared the rankest blasphemy and impiety; we need not wonder therefore that a severe prohibition of all such nefarious practices should have found a prominent place in the earliest Hebrew code.

Totemic art reached its highest development among the Indians

If totemic art exists at its lowest stage among the aborigines of Australia it may be said to have attained its highest development among the Indians of North-West America, notably in the gigantic carved and painted totem-posts, of which specimens may be seen in our museums and

[1] Exodus, xx. 4 *sq.*

[2] E. Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, i. 45 *sq.*

[3] For some evidence, see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 16 *sq.*, 66 *sq.*, 443-446.

private collections. Among these Indians the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands appear to have surpassed their fellows both in the profusion and in the skill with which they depicted their totems on their houses and furniture, their tools and wearing apparel, as well as on their own persons.[1] No noble family of the Middle Ages perhaps ever blazoned its crest more freely on its castles, its equipages, and its liveries than these savages blazoned their totemic animals in crude colours and grotesque forms on their multifarious belongings. Yet for all this gay fantastic display it would seem that the spirit which first animated totemic art was dead among the Haidas. There is no hint that their blazonry served any other purpose than that of decoration, or at most of family or legendary history. So far as we know, these Indians never turned totemic art to the account of totemic magic, never carved or painted images of their totems for the purpose of multiplying or controlling the creatures in the interest of man.

of North-West America, especially among the Haidas.

On the growth of religion the influence exercised by totemism appears in some societies to have been considerable, but in others, perhaps in most, to have been insignificant. In the first place, as I have already observed, pure totemism is not in itself a religion at all; for the totems as such are not worshipped, they are in no sense deities, they are not propitiated with prayer and sacrifice. To speak therefore of a worship of totems pure and simple, as some writers do, is to betray a serious misapprehension of the facts. Amongst the aborigines of Australia, who have totemism in its oldest and purest form, there are indeed some faint approaches to a propitiation, and hence to a worship of the totems.[2] But the process of evolution has been cut short by the advent of the whites, and the tendency towards a totemic religion in Australia accordingly remains abortive. Religion always implies an inequality between the worshippers and the worshipped; it involves an acknowledgment, whether tacit or express, of inferiority on the part of the worshippers; they look up to the objects of their worship as to a superior order of beings, whose favour they woo and whose anger they deprecate. But in pure totemism, as I have already pointed

Influence of totemism on the growth of religion.

Pure totemism is not a religion; in its nature it is democratic, being a treaty of friendship and alliance on equal terms between a clan and a species of animals or things.

[1] See above, vol. iii. pp. 288 *sqq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 144 *sq.*

out, no such inequality exists. On the whole the attitude of a man to his totem is that of a man to his peers; the relationship between them is one of brotherhood rather than of homage on the man's side and of suzerainty on the side of the totem. In short, pure totemism is essentially democratic; it is, so to say, a treaty of alliance and friendship concluded on equal terms between a clan and a species of animals or things; the allies respect but do not adore each other. Accordingly the institution flourishes best in democratic communities, where the attitude of men to their totems reflects that of men to their fellows. It may survive, indeed, even under despotic governments, such as Ashantee, Dahomey, and Uganda, but it is not at home under them. It breathes freely, so to say, only in the desert.

In practice totemism is naturally allied with democracy, and in theory with magic.

And as in practice the institution of totemism is most compatible with democracy, not despotism, so in theory it is most compatible with magic, not religion; since the mental attitude of the magician towards the natural and supernatural beings about him is that of a freeman to his equals, not that of a subject or a slave to his lords and masters. Hence three characteristic institutions of totemic society, of which aboriginal Australian society may be taken as a type, are totemism, democracy, and magic. The decay of any one of these three institutions seems to involve the decay of the other two. Primitive society advances simultaneously from democracy and magic towards despotism and religion, and just in proportion as despotism and religion wax, so totemism wanes. Though to many civilised men the personal and intellectual freedom implied by democracy and magic may seem preferable to the personal and intellectual subordination implied by despotism and religion, and though they may accordingly incline to regard the exchange of the former for the latter as rather a retrogression than an advance, yet a broad view of history will probably satisfy us that both despotism and religion have been necessary stages in the education of humanity and that for analogous reasons. Men are not born equal and never can be made so; a political constitution which professes their natural equality is a sham. Subordination of some kind is essential to the very existence of society; there

Primitive society advances simultaneously from democracy and magic to despotism and religion.

Temporary advantages of despotism as a discipline in social subordination.

must be a government of some kind, the inferior must obey the superior; and the best form of government is that in which folly and weakness are subordinated to wisdom and strength. Despotism seldom or never fully satisfies these conditions and therefore it is seldom or never a really good government. But it fosters the essential habit of subordination to authority, of obedience to the laws; the laws may be bad, but any law is better than none, the worst government is infinitely preferable to anarchy. Thus at an early period of social evolution a certain measure of despotism may serve as a wholesome discipline by training men to submit their personal passions and interests to those of another, even though that other be a tyrant; for a habit of submission and of self-sacrifice, once formed, may more easily be diverted from an ignoble to a noble object than a nature unaccustomed to brook restraints of any kind can be broken in to make those concessions without which human society cannot hold together. Reluctant submission to a bad government will readily be exchanged for willing submission to a good one; but he who cannot subordinate his own wishes to the wishes of his fellows cannot live either under a good government or under a bad: he is an enemy to society and deserves to be exterminated by it.

Temporary advantages of religion as a recognition of man's insignificance in the universe.

Reasons like those which justify the existence of despotism at a certain point in the history of man's relations to his fellows may be adduced to justify the existence of religion[1] at a certain point in the history of man's relations to the world at large. The imperious attitude of the magician towards nature is merely a result of his gross ignorance both of it and of himself; he knows neither the immeasurable power of nature nor his own relative weakness. When at last he gets an inkling of the truth, his attitude necessarily changes; his crest droops, he ceases to be a magician and becomes a priest. Magic has given place to religion. The change marks a real intellectual and moral advance, since it rests on a recognition, tardy and incomplete though it be, of a great truth, to wit, the insignificance of man's place in the universe. The mighty beings whom the magician had

[1] By religion I here mean not an ideal religion as it may be conceived in the abstract, but merely religion as it has actually existed in history.

treated with lordly disdain the priest adores with the deepest humiliation. Thus the intellectual attitude fostered by religion is one of submission to higher powers and is analogous to the political attitude of obedience to an absolute ruler which is fostered by despotism. The two great changes, therefore, from democracy to despotism and from magic to religion, naturally proceed side by side in the same society.

Development of totemism into religion in Melanesia and Polynesia.

The conclusions thus reached on general grounds are confirmed by an examination of totemic society in different parts of the world. At its lowest level in Australia totemic society is democratical and magical. At higher levels in Melanesia, Polynesia, America, and Africa it becomes more and more monarchical and religious, till it culminates in the absolute monarchies and bloody religious ritual of Ashantee, Dahomey, and Uganda. In India its natural development has been in large measure checked and obscured by contact with races which are not totemic; hence it is hardly safe to take Dravidian totemism into account in an attempt to arrange the totemic societies of the world in a series corresponding to their natural order of evolution. If now we look about for a stage of religion which may reasonably be regarded as evolved from totemism we shall perhaps find it most clearly marked in Melanesia and Polynesia, where answering to the religious evolution of gods there has been a political evolution of chiefs. The family and village gods of Samoa embodied in the shape of animals, plants, and other species of natural objects are most probably nothing but somewhat developed totems, which are on the point of sloughing off their old shapes and developing into anthropomorphic deities.[1] A more advanced phase of the same metamorphosis is exhibited by the village gods of Rewa in Fiji, who have definitely slipped off their animal envelopes but still possess the power of resuming them at pleasure, in other words, of transforming themselves back into the birds or beasts out of which they have been evolved.[2] Similarly in the island of Yam, between Australia and New Guinea, two totemic animals, the hammer-headed shark and the crocodile, had blossomed out into heroes named Sigai and Maiau, and their animal origin was kept a profound secret

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 166 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 139 *sq.*

from women and uninitiated men, though in their sacred shrines the two worshipful beings were still represented by the images of a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile respectively. To these heroes prayers were put up and offerings of food were made, dances were danced, and songs sung in their honour. In short, in the island of Yam totemism had definitely passed into a rudimentary religion.[1]

In North America there is very little evidence that totemism has developed into religion.

In other parts of the world the evolution of religion on totemic lines is less apparent; indeed for the most part the evidence of such an evolution is almost wholly wanting. In North-West America the Raven hero, who plays a great part in the mythology of the Indian tribes, may very well have been originally a raven totem, since the bird is certainly one of the chief totems of this region. But apart from this instance it might be hard to mention a single North American Indian god or hero for whom a totemic pedigree could be made out with any high degree of probability. Indeed if we except the disputable and disputed figure of the Great Spirit, the theology of the American Indians north of Mexico is almost as meagre as that of the Australian aborigines or, at a higher level of culture, the nomadic Semites.[2] Yet to this general rule there is a significant exception. The Pueblo Indians, who unlike all other Indian tribes of North America subsist exclusively by agriculture and dwell in what may be called fortified towns, possess a copious mythology and an elaborate ritual. Thus they used to be to the wild Apaches and Navahoes who prowled in their neighbourhood what the agricultural Semites of the Babylonian cities were to their wandering kinsmen the Bedouins of the desert. In both cases we see, on the one side the godly well-to-do denizens of walled towns leading a settled comfortable life through the cultivation of the soil, with a comparatively developed art, a good larder, a well-stocked pantheon, and a regular cycle of religious ceremonies; and on the other side, roving bands of lean, hungry, empty-handed barbarians, with little art and less religion, who look up from afar with mixed feelings of

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 18-21.

[2] On the poverty of the theology of the nomadic Semites, see E. Renan, *Histoire du peuple d'Israël*, i. 30 *sqq.*, 43 *sq.*

disgust, wonder, and envy, at the high-piled masonry of the fortresses and at the well-fed burghers pacing the ramparts, their portly figures sharply cut against the sky. A vagrant life seems to be very unfavourable to the creation of deities. But while the Pueblo Indians believe in many gods and goddesses and celebrate their pompous rites in harlequin masquerades and solemn processions, there is little evidence that these tribal deities and their rituals have been evolved out of the totems and totemic ceremonies of the clans.[1]

In Africa also the links between a rudimentary totemism and a developed pantheon are almost wholly wanting. Among the Bantu tribes the principal element of religion appears to be the worship of the dead.

In Africa also the links which might connect a developed pantheon with a rudimentary totemism are almost wholly wanting. The theology of the Bantu tribes, especially of such of them as have remained in the purely pastoral stage, appears generally to be of the most meagre nature; its principal element, so far as we can judge from the scanty accounts of it which we possess, is the fear or worship of dead ancestors, and though these ancestral spirits are commonly supposed to manifest themselves to their descendants in the shape of snakes of various kinds,[2] there is no sufficient ground for assuming these snakes to have been originally totems.[3] Of all Bantu tribes the Baganda of Central Africa have made the greatest progress in material and mental culture, and fortunately we possess a full account

[1] See above, vol. iii. pp. 227 *sqq.* It is true that the Navahoes now have a somewhat elaborate religion with gods and ceremonies resembling in some respects those of the Pueblo Indians. But good authorities are of opinion that the worship has been at least partly borrowed by them from more civi ised and settled tribes. See Washington Matthews, *Navaho Legends* (Boston and New York, 1897), pp. 33 *sqq.* Amongst the Navahoes, as amongst so many peoples, religion is a reflection of social life, the gods are the gigantic shadows cast by men. On this subject the observations of Dr. Washington Matthews (*Navaho Legends*, p. 33) may be quoted. He says: "The religion of this people reflects their social condition. Their government is democratic. There is no highest chief of the tribe, and all their chiefs are men of temporary and ill-defined authority, whose power depends largely on their personal influence, their oratory, and their reputation for wisdom. It is difficult for such a people to conceive of a Supreme God. Their gods, like their men, stand much on a level of equality."

[2] One of the chief documents on this subject is Dr. Henry Callaway's *Religious System of the Amazulu, Part II., Amatongo, or Ancestor Worship as existing among the Amazulu* (Natal, Capetown, and London, 1869). See also J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country* (London, 1857), pp. 161 *sqq.*; G. M'Call Theal, *Records of South-Eastern Africa*, vii. (London, 1901) pp. 399 *sqq.*; Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir* (London, 1904), pp. 85-95.

[3] See above, vol. ii. pp. 388 *sqq.*

both of their totemism and of their theology derived from the lips of the best-informed natives by a highly competent scientific investigator.[1] Now it is highly significant that not one of the numerous gods and goddesses of the Baganda pantheon appears to have been developed out of a totem. Almost all the Baganda totems are animals or plants, but chiefly animals.[2] But the national Baganda gods (*balubare*) are not animals or plants, nor do they exhibit any affinity with animals or plants in myth and ritual. The legends told of these divine beings represent them as human in character; they marry wives and beget children and act in other ways like men and women, though they are supposed to be endowed with superhuman powers. One of them, for example, named Musoke is the god of the rainbow, thunder, lightning, and rain. Another, named Dungu, is the god of the chase and aids the huntsman who worships him. Another, called Kaumpuli, is the god of plague; and another, named Kawari, is the god of small-pox. The goddess Nagawonya, wife of Musoke, has power over the grain and the crops; and the god Kagera bestows offspring on women. All the national gods and goddesses had their temples, where they received offerings and gave oracles by the mouth of inspired mediums, who in their fine frenzy were believed to be actually possessed by the deities and to speak with their voices. In like manner the spirits of all the dead kings of Uganda were worshipped at their tombs. Each king in his lifetime prepared a stately house in which his spirit was to reside eternally after death. The house was larger and more commodious than any which he occupied in life; for what after all are the few short years which he might pass, a living man among the living, to the eternity which he must spend among the dead? Accordingly, like many other people in many countries and in many ages of the world, the kings of Uganda took more thought for

None of the Baganda gods seem to have been developed out of totems.

Baganda worship of dead kings.

[1] The detailed account of Baganda totemism which we owe to the researches of the Rev. John Roscoe has already been laid before the reader. See above, vol. ii. pp. 472 *sqq.* His account of the gods (*balubare*) of the Baganda remains in manuscript. For a preliminary notice of them, see his "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) pp. 74 *sqq.*

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 477 *sq.*

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the long, long to-morrow than for the brief and fleeting to-day. If they did not lay up for themselves treasure in heaven, at least they laid it up in places where they thought it would be reasonably safe upon earth, and where they hoped to benefit by it when they had shuffled off the burden of the body. In the temple-tomb of a Baganda king were regularly deposited, not indeed his body, but his lower jaw-bone and his navel-string; and there on a throne, screened by a canopy and fenced off from the approach of the vulgar by a railing of glittering spears, these mortal relics were laid in state, whenever his subjects came to hold an audience with their departed monarch. There he communed with them through his inspired medium, the priest; and there, surrounded by his wives and nobles, who dwelt either in the tomb or in adjoining houses, he maintained a shadowy court, a faint reflection of the regal pomp which had surrounded him in life. When his widows died they were replaced by women from the same clans, and thus the dead king continued to be ministered to and to be consulted as an oracle at his tomb from generation to generation.[1]

The Baganda worship of dead kings seems to have grown out of the worship of dead commoners. It is probable that many, if not all, of the great national Baganda gods are merely dead men deified.

Now these temple-tombs of the kings of Uganda appear to be nothing more than greatly enlarged and glorified examples of the little huts (*masabo*) which the Baganda regularly erect near the graves of their relatives for the accommodation of the ghosts. At these small shrines, some two or three feet high by two feet wide, offerings of food, clothing, and firewood are made by the survivors, and beer is poured on the ground to slake the thirst of the poor souls in the grave.[2] But if the temple-tombs of Baganda kings are merely enlarged editions of the ghost-huts of Baganda commoners, is it not possible that the temples of some of the national Baganda gods (*balubare*) have the same origin? in other words, may not some of these national gods be, like

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 469 *sqq.* I have also drawn on the manuscript materials of the Rev. J. Roscoe, which he has placed at my disposal. For a similar worship of dead kings among another Bantu people, the Barotse, see below, pp. 306 *sq.*

[2] From the Rev. J. Roscoe's papers. Compare his article, "Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxii. (1902) p. 76. These *masabo* curiously remind us of the *mastaba* of the ancient Egyptians, which were sepulchral chambers built in graveyards for the service of the dead. See A. Erman, *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 419 *sqq.*

the worshipful spirits of departed kings, nothing but dead men deified? In point of fact we have the best of evidence that the great war-god Kibuka, one of the chief deities of the Baganda, was once a man of flesh and blood; for his mortal remains, consisting of his jawbone, his navel-string, and his genital organs, were obtained a few years ago from the priest who had carefully buried them when the god's temple was burned by the Mohammedans, and they are now preserved in the Ethnological Museum at Cambridge.[1] When this instance is considered along with the worship of the deceased kings, about whose humanity there can be no doubt, it becomes highly probable that many, if not all, of the great national gods of the Baganda are simply men who have been raised to the rank of deities after their death or possibly even in their life. The inference is confirmed by the tradition that the greatest of all the Baganda gods, Mukasa, was a brother of the war-god Kibuka, and that two other powerful deities, Nende and Musoke, were sons of Mukasa; for if one of the divine brothers, Mukasa and Kibuka, was once a man, as we know him for certain to have been, a presumption is raised that the other brother and his two sons were originally men also.[2] In short, it would seem that the principal element in the religion of the Baganda, as perhaps of all other Bantu tribes, is not totemism but the worship of the dead. At the same time it is to be remembered that besides the gods of the Baganda nation there are gods of the clans, and it is possible that some of these clan gods may once have been totems. Yet no positive evidence of their totemic origin appears to be forthcoming. For example, there is a python god, but he is worshipped, not by members of the Python clan, but by members of the Heart clan; which seems to shew that the worship of the serpent has originated quite independently of

[1] Rev. J. Roscoe, "Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda," *Man*, vii. (1907) pp. 161-166. Compare above, vol. ii. p. 487.

[2] For the relationship of Mukasa and Musoke, see the Rev. J. Roscoe, "Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda," *Man*, vii. (1907) p. 161, where we are told that "Kibuka and his brother Mukasa are the two principal gods of the Baganda; their home was on one of the islands of the Lake Victoria." That the two national deities Nende and Musoke are traditionally said to have been sons of Mukasa, I learn from Mr. Roscoe's unpublished papers.

totemism.[1] Hence, as I have already pointed out,[2] the example of the Baganda should warn us against the assumption that totemism normally and almost necessarily develops into a worship of anthropomorphic deities with sacred animals and plants for their attributes. In Uganda we find both totems and anthropomorphic deities; but the anthropomorphic deities have not, apparently, grown out of the totems, they are simply deified dead men. At least, this is quite certain for the kings and equally certain for one of the greatest of the national gods.

Again, among the totemic tribes of Guinea there is little to shew that the gods have grown out of totems.

The true negroes of the coast of Guinea have in like manner a system of totemism and a highly developed pantheon; but there is little to shew that the deities of the pantheon have been evolved out of totems. Thus among the Tshi-speaking negroes of the Gold Coast each town, village, or district has its local spirits or gods, generally malignant in character, who appear to be personifications of the chief natural features of the neighbourhood, especially such as excite the curiosity or awe of man, impress his imagination, and threaten his existence. Such are the rivers and streams, the hills and valleys, the rocks and the forests, the giant trees which fall and crush the passer-by, and not least of all the roaring surf and the stormy sea, which swamp the frail canoe of the mariner and drown him in the depths. The deities of these natural objects are ordinarily conceived in human shape, some male, some female, some black, some white, and many of gigantic size. Offerings of food and drink are made to them; priests and priestesses have charge of their worship and sometimes profess to have seen the divine beings in person.[3] Besides these local deities, who may be numbered by tens of thousands,[4] a few general deities are worshipped by whole tribes or groups of tribes in common; but they also are imagined to be of human shape, and there is nothing to indicate that they were formerly totems.[5] It is true that some of these Tshi

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 500 *sqq.*

[2] Above, vol. ii. p. 504.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast* (London, 1887), pp. 12, 17, 34 *sqq.*, 39-78.

[4] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), p. 25.

[5] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 17, 22-33.

gods and goddesses, whether local or general, have certain species of sacred animals or birds associated with them. Thus crocodiles are sacred to the river gods Prah and Ahah and to the river goddess Katarwiri.[1] Driver ants, which march in armies, are sacred to Tando, the chief god of the Ashantees and of the northern Tshi-speaking tribes; and these insects may not be molested by their worshippers.[2] Water-wagtails are sacred to the god Adzi-anim and point out to his adorers where to dig in order to find good water, of which the deity himself is the local provider.[3] And antelopes are sacred to Brahfo, a popular god who dwells in a gloomy hollow of the forest near the town of Mankassim; hence no worshipper of Brahfo may harm an antelope or eat its flesh.[4] But none of these sacred animals appear to be totems. On the other hand it might plausibly be held that among the Ewe-speaking tribes of the adjoining Slave Coast the local worship of leopards, crocodiles, and pythons has been evolved out of totemism, since all three of these animals are totems of Ewe clans.[5] However, it is quite possible that the worship has had an independent origin. For the most part the gods of the Ewe-speaking peoples appear to be either local deities like those of the Tshi-speaking tribes, that is, personifications of particular natural features of the country, or else general deities, that is, personifications of certain great aspects or forces of nature, such as the sky, the lightning, the rainbow, the sun, the ocean, small-pox, and the reproductive principle in mankind.[6] But these deities are to all appearance independent of totemism.

On the whole, if we may judge by the accounts which we possess of totemic tribes in Africa and America, we can hardly help concluding that their religion or at least their

Thus in Africa and America totemism

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 33, 65, 67.

[2] A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 32.

[3] A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.* p. 40.

[4] A. B. Ellis, *op. cit.* pp. 55 *sq.*, 64.

[5] See above, vol. ii. pp. 583-587.

[6] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), pp. 31 *sqq.*, 63 *sqq.*, 77 *sqq.* Much valuable information as to the religion of the Ewe tribes is contained in the work of the German missionary J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme* (Berlin, 1906), but totems and totemism are not so much as mentioned in it, a significant omission which shews how small a part the institution plays in the religious life of the people.

seems to have had little influence on the growth of religion.

theology has been little affected by their totemism; totemic animals and plants shew few signs of blossoming out into gods and goddesses; in short, totemism in these regions has been nearly as barren theologically as economically. This conclusion agrees with the result of our study of the Australian aborigines, who along with the most fully developed system of totemism known to us exhibit only a few rudimentary germs of a theology.[1]

But if totemism has done little to foster the growth of religion, it has probably done much to knit men together in society, and has thus served a useful purpose; since in the struggle for existence union is strength and victory, disunion is weakness and defeat. Totemism has stood for the principle of collective responsibility, which though theoretically unjust has been practically beneficial.

If totemism has apparently done little to foster the growth of higher forms of religion, it has probably done much to strengthen the social ties and thereby to serve the cause of civilisation, which depends for its progress on the cordial co-operation of men in society, on their mutual trust and good-will, and on their readiness to subordinate their personal interests to the interests of the community. A society thus united in itself is strong and may survive; a society rent by discord and dissension is weak and likely to perish either through internal disruption or by the impact of other societies, themselves perhaps individually weaker, yet collectively stronger, because they act as one. The tendency of totemism to knit men together in social groups is noticed again and again by the writers who have described the institution from personal observation. They tell us that persons who have the same totem regard each other as kinsmen and are ready to befriend and stand by one another in difficulty and danger. Indeed the totemic tie is sometimes deemed more binding than that of blood. A sense of common obligations and common responsibility pervades the totem clan. Each member of it is answerable even with his life for the deeds of every other member; each of them resents and is prompt to avenge a wrong done to his fellows as a wrong done to himself. In nothing does this solidarity of the clan come out more strikingly than in the law of the blood feud. The common rule is that the whole of a clan is responsible for a homicide committed by any of its members, and that if the manslayer himself is for any reason beyond the reach of

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 141-153. Professor E. B. Tylor protested long ago against the exaggerated estimate which some writers have formed of the religious importance of totemism. See his article, "Remarks on Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 144. With that protest I entirely agree.

vengeance, his crime may and should be visited by the clan of his victim on any member of the murderer's clan, even though the person to be punished may have had no hand whatever in the murder.[1] To civilised men it seems unjust that the innocent should thus be made to suffer for the guilty, and no doubt, if we regard the matter from a purely abstract point of view, we must affirm that the infliction of vicarious suffering is morally wrong and indefensible; no man, we say, and say rightly, ought to be punished except for his own act and deed. Yet if we look at the facts of life as they are and not as they ought to be, we can hardly help concluding that the principle of collective responsibility, with its necessary corollary of vicarious suffering, has been of the greatest utility, perhaps absolutely essential, to the preservation and well-being of society. Nothing else, probably, could have availed to keep primitive men together in groups large enough to make headway against the opposition of hostile communities; in the struggle for existence a tribe which attempted to deal out even-handed justice between man and man on the principle of individual responsibility would probably have succumbed before a tribe which acted as one man on the principle of collective responsibility. Before the champions of abstract justice could have ascertained the facts, laid the blame on the real culprit, and punished him as he deserved, they must have run a serious risk of being exterminated by their more impetuous and less scrupulous neighbours.

The principle of collective responsibility favours the growth of moral virtue.

However much, therefore, the principle of collective responsibility may be condemned in theory, there can hardly be a doubt that it has been very useful in practice. If it has done great injustice to individuals, it has done great service to the community; the many have benefited by the sufferings of a few. Men are far readier to repress wrong-doing in others if they think that they themselves stand a chance of being punished for it than if they know that the punishment will only fall on the actual offender. Thus a habit is begotten of regarding all misdemeanours with severe

[1] See, for example, above, vol. iii. p. 563. The collective responsibility of the family in West Australia is well stated by Sir George Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery*, ii. 239 *sq.*

disapprobation as injuries done to the whole society; and this habit of mind may grow into an instinctive condemnation and abhorrence of wrong-doing, apart from the selfish consideration of any harm which the wrong may possibly entail on the person who condemns and abhors it. In short, the principle of collective responsibility not only checks crime but tends to reform the criminal by fostering a disinterested love of virtue and so enabling society to adopt in time a standard of justice which approaches more nearly to the ideal.

Totemism may be forgiven its speculative errors for the sake of its practical good.

So far, therefore, as totemism has drawn closer the bonds which unite men in society it has directly promoted the growth of a purer and higher morality. An institution which has done this has deserved well of humanity. Its speculative absurdities may be forgiven for the sake of its practical good, and in summing up judgment we may perhaps pronounce that sentence of acquittal which was pronounced long ago on another poor sinner: *Remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum.*

§ 2. *The Origin of Totemism*

The problem of the origins of totemism and exogamy, in the absence of historical records, can only be solved by general considerations and arguments drawn from probability. Both institutions originated in savagery and cannot be understood with-

Since the institutions of totemism and exogamy are found to prevail so widely among mankind, the question of their origins has naturally attracted the attention of students, and various theories have been put forward to account for them. The enquiry is beset with difficulties; for both the customs are very foreign to our civilised modes of thinking and acting, they have all the appearance of being very ancient, and the savage and barbarous peoples who practise them have no accurate record of their origin. Hence in default of positive testimony we are obliged to have recourse to general considerations and to arguments drawn from probability. As it is almost certain that both totemism and exogamy must have originated at a very low level of savagery, the causes which gave rise to them must be sought in the conditions of savage life and in the beliefs, prejudices, and superstitions of the savage mind. It is only within recent years that savagery has been made a subject of scientific study, and we are still far from understanding it

fully. But we have learned enough about it to perceive the wide interval which separates the thought of the savage from our own, and accordingly to be distrustful of rationalistic theories which explain the customs of uncivilised peoples on the assumption that primitive man thinks and acts precisely in the way in which we should think and act if we were placed in his circumstances. No doubt it is hard for us to put ourselves at the point of view of the savage, to strip ourselves, not merely of the opinions imprinted on us by education, but also of the innate tendencies which we have inherited from many generations of civilised ancestors, and having thus divested ourselves of what has become a part of our nature to consider what we should do under conditions of life very different from those by which from infancy we have been surrounded. None of us can ever do this perfectly; at the most we can only do it approximately. But it cannot be done at all by deductive reasoning; the only hope of success lies in the inductive method. If we are to penetrate into the mind of the savage and understand its working, we must impartially consider the actual beliefs and customs of the lower races, we must survey them as widely and study them as minutely as possible, and just in so far as we have satisfied these conditions are we justified in forming and expressing an opinion as to how uncivilised man would think and act under certain circumstances, what he would be likely to do and what he could not possibly think of doing in such and such a situation. Many people, indeed, seem to be unaware of the long course of study which must be undertaken, the wide range of comparisons which must be drawn, before we are fitted to pass a judgment on theories of the origin of ancient institutions. They think that anybody may do so on the strength of what is called common sense, which generally means little more than the personal prejudices of the speaker. The problems of totemism and exogamy can never be solved by such methods.

out a long and patient study of savage thought and custom.

Three different theories of the origin of totemism have at different times occurred to me as possible or probable. Two of them I have seen reason to abandon; the third I still regard as probably true. I might content myself with

The writer has at various times propounded three

several theories of totemism, two of which he has since abandoned.

referring the reader to the passages in this and my other writings in which these theories have been explained; but it may be well to restate them, if possible, more clearly, together with the reasons which have led me to reject two of them and to adhere to the third. And in order to allow my readers to judge for themselves of the relative value of these hypotheses I shall briefly state and discuss a few of the principal theories which have been broached by others on the subject, lest, misled by the partiality of an author for his own views, I should unwittingly overlook and suppress elements of truth which my fellow-workers in this difficult branch of knowledge have brought to light. And in like manner with regard to exogamy I shall state some of the more notable opinions which have been held, giving my reasons for agreeing with or dissenting from them, and finally indicating what seem to me the most probable conclusions.

It is possible that both totemism and exogamy have originated in different ways among different peoples, but it is more probable that each of them has everywhere had a similar origin.

At the outset we shall do well to bear in mind that both totemism and exogamy may possibly have originated in very different ways among different peoples, and that the external resemblances between the institutions in different places may accordingly be deceptive. Instances of such deception might easily be multiplied in other fields of science. Nothing can externally resemble the leaves or branches of certain trees more exactly than certain insects; yet the things which bear such an extraordinary resemblance to each other are not even different species of the same genus; they belong to totally different natural orders, for the one is an animal and the other is a plant.[1] So it may possibly be both with totemism and with exogamy. What we call totemism or exogamy in one people may perhaps be quite different in its origin and nature from totemism or exogamy in another people. This is possible. Yet on the other hand the resemblances between all systems of totemism and all systems of exogamy are so great and so numerous that the presumption is certainly in favour of the view that each of them has

[1] A. R. Wallace, *Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection* (London, 1871), pp. 56 *sqq.* As to what is called mimicry in insects, see further Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species*, Sixth Edition (London, 1878), pp. 181 *sq.*; A. R. Wallace, *Darwinism* (London, 1889), pp. 239 *sqq.*; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, xvi. 341 *sqq.*

everywhere originated in substantially the same way, and that therefore a theory which satisfactorily explains the origin of these institutions in any one race will probably explain its origin in all races. The burden of proof therefore lies on those who contend that there are many different kinds of totemism and exogamy rather than on those who hold that there is substantially only one of each. In point of fact most writers who have set themselves to explain the rise of the two institutions appear to have assumed, and in my judgment rightly assumed, that the solution of each problem is singular.

With these preliminary cautions we will now take up some theories of the origin of totemism.

Herbert Spencer's theory that totemism originated in a misinterpretation of nicknames.

The man who more than any other is entitled to rank as the discoverer both of totemism and of exogamy, J. F. McLennan, never published any theory of the origin of totemism, though he did publish and strongly held a theory of the origin of exogamy. But if he did not himself speculate on the causes which led to the institution of totemism his remarkable essays on "The Worship of Animals and Plants"[1] soon set others speculating on the subject. Amongst the first to enter the field was Herbert Spencer. His view was that totemism originated in a misinterpretation of nicknames. He thought that the imperfections of primitive speech prevented savages from clearly distinguishing between things and their names, and that accordingly ancestors who had been nicknamed after animals, plants, or other natural objects on the ground of some imaginary resemblance to them, were confused in the minds of their descendants with the things after which they had been named; hence from revering his human progenitors the savage came to revere the species of animals or plants or other natural objects with which through an ambiguity of speech he had been led to identify them.[2] A similar, though not identical, explanation of totemism was independently

[1] Published in *The Fortnightly Review* for October and November 1869 and February 1870. The papers are reprinted in McLennan's posthumous book, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1896), pp. 491 *sqq.*

[2] This theory was put forward first and most clearly by Herbert Spencer in an essay entitled "The Origin of Animal Worship," which was published in *The Fortnightly Review* for May 1870. The essay, suggested by J. F.

Similar theory proposed by Lord Avebury.

suggested by Lord Avebury. He regards totemism as a worship of natural objects, and thinks it may have arisen through the practice of naming, first individuals, and then their families, after particular animals, plants or other natural objects; for from naming themselves thus people might gradually come to look upon their namesakes, whether animals, plants, or what not, with interest, respect, and awe.[1]

The objection to such theories is that they attribute too great influence to purely verbal misunderstandings.

The fundamental objection to both these theories has been already stated.[2] They attribute to verbal misunderstandings far more influence than verbal misunderstandings ever seem to have exercised. It is true that names are to the savage more substantial and vital things than they are to us. Yet even when we have allowed for the difference the alleged cause seems totally inadequate to account for the actual effects. At the time when, many years ago, these theories were propounded, speculation as to the origins of religion was unduly biassed by the teaching of a brilliant school of philologers, of whom in this country Max Müller was the leader. These scholars, starting with a natural and excusable partiality for words, discovered in them the principal source of mythology, which they imagined to flow from the turbid spring of verbal misapprehension. That many blunders and many superstitions have originated in this way, it would be vain to deny; but that a great social institution such as totemism, spread over a large part of the globe, had no deeper root seems very improbable. It is true that neither Herbert Spencer nor Lord Avebury so far yielded to the seductions of the philological school

McLennan's recent papers on "The Worship of Animals and Plants," was afterwards republished by Spencer in his *Essays, Scientific, Political, and Speculative*, vol. iii. Third Edition (London, 1878), pp. 101-124. The substance of the theory was afterwards embodied by the author in his large work *The Principles of Sociology*, vol. i. §§ 169-176, 180-183 (pp. 331-346, 354-359, Third Edition, 1904).

[1] Lord Avebury, *The Origin of Civilisation and the Primitive Condition of Man*, Sixth Edition (London, 1902), pp. 217, 275 *sqq.* The theory was first briefly indicated by Lord Avebury (Sir John Lubbock) in an Appendix to the Second Edition of his *Pre-historic Times*, published in 1869. The passage, reprinted in the Fifth Edition of that work (London, 1890, p. 610), runs thus: "In endeavouring to account for the worship of animals, we must remember that names are very frequently taken from them. The children and followers of a man called the Bear or the Lion would make that a tribal name. Hence the animal itself would be first respected, at last worshipped."

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 87.

as to follow it in all its exaggerations; both these eminent thinkers had too firm a grasp on the realities of life to be thus duped by words. Yet we may surmise that their views of totemism were unduly tinged by the colours of the fashionable mythological theory of the day. These colours have long faded. Even the rosy pink of dawn, which the leading artist of the school applied with a too liberal brush to the face of nature, has mostly weathered away; and we are left to contemplate the grim realities of savage life in duller, sadder hues.

G. A. Wilken's theory that totemism originated in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

A different explanation of totemism was suggested by the eminent Dutch scholar G. A. Wilken, who possessed an unrivalled acquaintance with the extensive literature in which the ethnology of the East Indian Archipelago has been described by his fellow-countrymen. After giving an account of the doctrine of the transmigration of human souls into animal bodies, as that doctrine is held in Indonesia, he proceeds as follows: "Thus we see that amongst the peoples of the Indian Archipelago the doctrine of the transmigration of souls has generally led to an idea of the relationship of the man with, or his descent from certain animals, which animals, thus raised to the rank of ancestors, are revered just as other ancestors are revered. In a certain sense we have here what in the science of religion we are accustomed to call totemism. The word is, as we know, derived from the North American Indians. Every tribe here has, under the name totem, one or other animal which is revered as a fetish, after which the tribe is named and from which its members trace their descent. The Redskin who, for example, recognises the wolf as his totem, has also the wolf for his guardian spirit, bears its name, and regards himself as related to the whole species. What we have found among the peoples of the Indian Archipelago answers to this completely. Only they have not come to the pitch of naming themselves after the animals which they thus revere as their ancestors." Then after quoting Herbert Spencer's theory of totemism, which has already been laid before the reader,[1] Wilken adds: "Without controverting Spencer's theory, for which this is not the place, we only wish to observe that in our opinion

[1] See above, p. 43.

totemism among the North American Indians, or wherever it may be found, may have sprung from the transmigration of souls in the same way in which we have indicated among the peoples of the Indian Archipelago: the animal in which the souls of the dead are thought by preference to be incarnate becomes a kinsman, an ancestor and as such is revered. Thus it is not, as Spencer supposes, a 'misinterpretation of nicknames,' but the transmigration of souls which forms the connecting link between totemism on the one side and the worship of the dead on the other, which link, while it has dropped out among many peoples, is still for the most part clearly observable in the Archipelago."[1]

It is true that the doctrine of transmigration has led various peoples to respect certain species of animals; but this respect seems to differ from totemism, for the doctrine of transmigration is not held by the totemic tribes with which we are best acquainted.

This theory of totemism is not, like the theories of Herbert Spencer and Lord Avebury, open to the objection that the alleged cause appears inadequate to produce the effect. If people really believe the souls of their dead to be lodged in certain species of animals and plants, the belief would be a quite sufficient reason why they should respect these animals and plants and refrain from killing, eating, and injuring them. But on this point we are not left to balance mere speculative possibilities. We know as a matter of fact that many peoples in many parts of the world have respected animals for this very reason.[2] Such respect certainly resembles the attitude of totemic peoples towards their totems, yet it seems to differ from it. For on the one hand the theory of the transmigration of human souls into animals is held by many peoples who do not, or at all events who are not known to practise totemism; and on the other hand the theory in question is not held by those totemic peoples as to whose systems we possess the fullest information such as the Australian aborigines, the Baganda of Central Africa, and most, if not all, of the North American Indians.[3] This

[1] G. A. Wilken, "Het Animisme bij de Volken van den Indischen Archipel," *De Indische Gids*, June 1884, pp. 997-999. Wilken's theory of totemism was afterwards taken up by Professor E. B. Tylor, who supported it by Mr. Sleigh's evidence as to certain Melanesian beliefs. See E. B. Tylor, "Remarks on Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 146-148. For Mr. Sleigh's evidence, see above, vol. ii. p. 81.

[2] For examples, see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. 430 *sqq.* Many more instances will be cited in the Third Edition of that book.

[3] An early authority on the Hopi or Moqui Indians, Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, informs us that their totemic clans are

seems to shew that the two things, totemism and the doctrine of metempsychosis, are distinct and independent. If a belief in the transmigration of souls had been the origin of totemism, surely that belief would have been found lingering among the Australian aborigines, the most primitive totemic race with which we are acquainted. Why should it have vanished from among them, leaving its supposed product totemism in full bloom behind, and should have reappeared among higher races which know nothing of totemism? The natural inference seems to be that metempsychosis is a later product of social evolution than totemism, of which indeed it may sometimes be an effect rather than the cause.

However, the theory which derives totemism from metempsychosis is supported by the reported beliefs of certain totemic tribes in Africa.

On the other hand it is to be observed that the hypothesis which derives totemism from metempsychosis is supported by the accounts of certain totemic tribes in Africa. We have seen that the historian of South Africa, Dr. Theal, bases the totemism of the Bantu tribes not as a theory but as a fact on their belief in the reincarnation of their dead in the form of animals,[1] and similar statements have been made as to various tribes in the west and centre of the continent.[2] But all these statements are somewhat loose and vague; our information as to the totemic system of the tribes in question is for the most part very meagre, and till it is much fuller and more precise we shall do well not to draw inferences from it. Even if it should turn out that many Bantu tribes, unlike the Baganda, do actually explain their totemism by a belief that the souls of their dead are incarnate in their totems, I should still, for the reasons I have given, incline to regard that belief as a later development rather than as the source of totemism.

supposed to be descended from ancestors who had been transformed by the great Mother into human shape after having been up to that time identical with their totems, namely, the deer, the bear, the hare, the prairie-wolf, the rattle-snake, the tobacco-plant, the reed-grass, sand, and water. The writer then proceeds as follows: "They are firm believers in metempsychosis, and say that when they die, they will resolve into their original forms, and become bears, deer, etc., again." See Dr. P. G. S. Ten Broeck, "Manners and Customs of the Moqui and Navajo Tribes of New Mexico," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, iv. 86. This important statement seems not to have been confirmed or noticed by later authorities on the Hopi Indians, but it well deserves attention. I regret that it was overlooked by me in my account of the totemic system of these tribes (above, vol. iii. pp. 195 *sqq.*).

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 388 *sqq.*

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 398, 551 *sq.*, 560, 626, 629.

Theory that the totems of clans are merely the guardian spirits of ancestors transmitted by inheritance to their descendants. This theory is held by some American anthropologists.

Another theory of the origin of totemism is that the institution grew out of the personal guardian spirits of individuals. On this view the totem of a clan is simply the guardian spirit or personal totem of an ancestor, who acquired it for himself in a dream at puberty and through his influence and credit succeeded in transmitting it by inheritance to his descendants. These descendants form a clan, and revere as their totem the species of animals or plants or other objects in which the guardian spirit of their ancestor manifested itself. This theory is held by some eminent American anthropologists, including Dr. Franz Boas, Miss Alice C. Fletcher, Mr. C. Hill-Tout, and Father A. G. Morice.[1] It has the advantage of explaining very simply how a whole clan came to possess a common totem, for nothing seems more natural than that the totem should have spread to a kindred group by inheritance from a common ancestor. Indeed, whatever theory we adopt of the origin of totemism we can hardly help supposing that the totem, guardian spirit, or whatever we may call it, of the individual preceded the hereditary totem of a group or clan and was in some way its original.

This American theory flows naturally from the American facts, since both clan totems and personal guardian spirits are common in North America.

Further, this American theory, as we may call it, of the origin of totemism flows very naturally from the American facts. For amongst the North American Indians the two institutions of clan totemism and personal guardian spirits are both widely prevalent, and the attitude of men to their clan totems on the one side and to their guardian spirits or personal totems on the other is very similar. What therefore can seem more obvious than that the two institutions are in origin identical, and that the clan totem is simply the guardian spirit or personal totem become hereditary?

[1] F. Boas, "The Social Organization and the Secret Societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the United States National Museum for 1895* (Washington, 1897), pp. 336, 393, 662; *id.* in "Twelfth Report of the Committee on the North-Western Tribes of Canada," *Report of the British Association*, Bristol, 1898, pp. 674-677; Miss Alice C. Fletcher, *The Import of the Totem* (Salem, Mass., 1897), pp. 8 *sqq.*; C. Hill-Tout, "The Origin of Totemism among the Aborigines of British Columbia," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Second Series, 1901-1902, vol. vii. Section ii. pp. 6 *sqq.*; *id.* "Some Features of the Language and Culture of the Salish," *American Anthropologist*, New Series, vii. (1905) pp. 681 *sqq.*; Father A. G. Morice, "The Canadian Dénés," *Annual Archæological Report, 1905* (Toronto, 1906), p. 205.

Yet there are serious difficulties in the way of accepting a theory which at first sight has so much to commend it. So long as we confine our view to American totemism, the hypothesis is plausible, and if we knew nothing about totemism except what we can learn about it in America we might well be disposed to acquiesce in it as satisfactory and sufficient. But when we turn to the totemic systems of tribes in other parts of the world, doubts inevitably arise. For the custom of possessing individual guardian spirits, apart from the totems of the clans, is very rare in Australia,[1] unknown in India, and almost unknown among the Bantu tribes of Africa;[2] unless we except the taboos imposed on individuals among some Bantu tribes of the lower Congo,[3] who may, however, have borrowed them from their negro neighbours. On the other hand the guardian spirits of the American Indians have to a certain extent their analogies in the individual fetishes and bush-souls, which are common among the true negroes of West Africa.[4] But unlike the guardian spirits of the American Indians these African fetishes and bush-souls appear not to be acquired by individuals for themselves in dreams at puberty. Hence surveying the facts of totemism as a whole we seem driven to conclude that the system of personal guardian spirits obtained by dreams at puberty is almost confined to America,[5] and that therefore it cannot have been the general source of totemism.

But it is not borne out by the evidence of totemic tribes elsewhere, with whom personal guardian spirits appear for the most part to be wanting.

Even if we confine ourselves to the American facts we shall find a difficulty in the way of the theory which derives the totem of the clan from the guardian spirit of the individual. For it is to be observed that amongst the North American Indians, while we hear a great deal about the guardian spirits of men, we hear very little about the guardian spirits of women.[6] This seems to shew that the guardian spirits of women were of little importance by comparison with those of men. Hence it appears to follow that if the

Even in America the theory encounters a serious difficulty in the comparative insignificance of the guardian spirits of women,

[1] Amongst the Australian aborigines personal guardian spirits in animal form seem to be chiefly confined to medicine-men. See above, vol. i. pp. 412 *sq.*, 448 *sq.*, 482 *sq.*, 489 *sq.*, 497 *sq.*

[2] For some evidence of guardian spirits among the Bantus see above, vol. ii. pp. 453, 627.

[3] See above, vol. ii. pp. 615 *sqq.*

[4] See above, vol. ii. pp. 572 *sqq.*, 593 *sqq.*

[5] However, Kurnai medicine-men acquired their guardian spirits in dreams. See vol. i. pp. 497 *sq.*

[6] For the evidence see above, vol. iii. pp. 370-456.

which is hard to reconcile with descent of the clan totem in the female line.

clan totem is nothing but the guardian spirit become hereditary, it ought to be inherited generally, perhaps always from the father and not from the mother. How then are we to explain the large number of totemic clans in North America which are hereditary in the maternal, not in the paternal line? If the theory which we are discussing is correct we must assume that amongst all the many Indian tribes which retain female descent of the totem far more importance was formerly attributed to the guardian spirits of women than of men. But such an assumption is not supported by any evidence and is in itself improbable.

On the whole then we conclude that the totems of clans are not to be identified with the guardian spirits acquired by individuals in dreams at puberty.

Theory of Dr. A. C. Haddon that totems were originally the animals or plants on which local groups of people chiefly subsisted, and after which they were named by their neighbours.

Another explanation of the origin of totemism has been suggested by Dr. A. C. Haddon. He supposes that each primitive local group subsisted chiefly on some one species of animal or plant, and that after satisfying their own wants the members of the group exchanged their superfluity for the superfluities of other neighbouring groups. In this way each group might come to be named by its neighbours after the particular kind of food which formed its staple article of diet and of exchange. Thus "among the shore-folk the group that lived mainly on crabs and occasionally traded in crabs might well be spoken of as 'the crab-men' by all the groups with whom they came in direct or indirect contact. The same would hold good for the group that dealt in clams or in turtle, and reciprocally there might be sago-men, bamboo-men, and so forth. It is obvious that men who persistently collected or hunted a particular group of animals would understand the habits of those animals better than other people, and a personal regard for these animals would naturally arise. Thus from the very beginning there would be a distinct relationship between a group of individuals and a group of animals or plants, a relationship that primitively was based, not on even the most elementary of psychic concepts, but on the most deeply seated and urgent of human claims, hunger."[1]

[1] A. C. Haddon, "Address to the Anthropological Section," *Report of the British Association*, Belfast, 1902, pp. 8-11 (separate reprint).

To this theory it has been objected by Professor Baldwin Spencer that if we may judge by the Australian aborigines, who have totemism in the most primitive form known to us, there is no such specialisation of diet between the local groups as Dr. Haddon assumes. The district occupied by a local totemic group is small; the animals and plants in it do not as a rule differ from those of neighbouring districts; and the natives of each district do not confine themselves exclusively or principally to any one article of diet, but eat indifferently anything edible that they can lay hands on. Hence in every district we find totemic groups bearing the names of all the edible animals and plants that live and grow in it.[1] Thus the state of things postulated by Dr. Haddon's theory does not exist in Australia, which may be regarded as the most typically totemic country in the world. And the view that the names of the totem clans were originally nicknames applied to them by their neighbours, which the persons so nicknamed adopted as honourable distinctions, appears to be very unlikely. Strong evidence would be needed to convince us that any group of men had complacently accepted a nickname bestowed on them, perhaps in derision, by their often hostile neighbours; nay, that they had not only adopted the nickname as their distinctive title and badge of honour, but had actually developed a religion, or something like a religion, out of it, contracting such a passionate love and admiration for the animals or plants after which they were nicknamed that they henceforth refused, at the risk of dying of hunger, to kill and eat them,

But the specialisation of diet assumed by the theory does not exist amongst the most primitive totemic tribes; and it is unlikely that nicknames should be accepted as badges of honour and should contribute to the evolution of a religion.

[1] Baldwin Spencer, "Totemism in Australia," *Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dunedin, 1904, p. 417: "At the present day, except that, of course, sea-fish do not exist in the interior, and so the interior tribes do not have totemic groups of this name, nor *vice versa* do the coastal tribes have groups named after certain grass-seeds which only grow in the centre, in every part we find that there are totemic groups bearing the names of all edible animals and plants, and, so far as we can judge, every group of Natives has simply used as food all the edible objects which were to be found in its district. Kangaroos and emus are met with everywhere in Australia, but they have never been the exclusive or even chief food of any one group of Natives. We may feel certain that the origin of totemic names is not associated in the first instance with the staple food of local groups of individuals, because the Native—and the more primitive he is the more likely is this to be the case—feeds upon everything edible which grows in his country." Compare Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 767 *sq.*

though formerly these same animals or plants had been the very food on which they chiefly subsisted. The theory that nicknames are the root of totemism is, as I have already pointed out,[1] improbable enough in itself, but the improbability is multiplied tenfold when it is assumed that these nicknames did not originate with the persons themselves but have been borrowed by them from their neighbours. In point of fact no single instance of such an adoption of nicknames from neighbours was known to Dr. Howitt, the most experienced of Australian anthropologists, in the whole of Australia.[2]

The three theories of totemism proposed by the author.

When I first published my small work on totemism in 1887 I had no theory of totemism to suggest and confined myself to collecting and stating the facts. Since then the subject has continued to engage my attention, many new facts have come to light, and after prolonged study I have proposed three several explanations of totemism, of which, on mature reflection, I have discarded two as inadequate. The third, to which I still adhere, has been already stated in this book and I shall revert to it presently. But it may be worth while here to notice the two discarded hypotheses, as both of them, if they do not go to the root of totemism, may serve to illustrate some of its aspects.

The author's first theory, that totemism originated in the doctrine of the external soul or the supposed possibility of

My first suggestion was that the key to totemism might be found in the theory of the external soul, that is, in the belief that living people may deposit their souls for safe keeping outside of themselves in some secure place, where the precious deposit will be less exposed to the risks and vicissitudes of life than while it remained in the body of its owner. Persons who have thus stowed away their souls apart from their bodies are supposed to be immortal and

[1] See above, p. 44.

[2] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia* (London, 1904), p. 154: "To me, judging of the possible feelings of the pristine ancestors of the Australians by their descendants of the present time, it seems most improbable that any such nicknames would have been adopted and have given rise to totemism, nor do I know of a single instance in which such nicknames have been adopted." It is true that in West Australia some totemic groups are said to have been named after the animals or plants on which they at one time chiefly subsisted. See above, vol. i. pp. 547 *sq.*, 555 *sq.* But these explanations of the names are probably afterthoughts, and it is not suggested that the names were adopted from other people.

depositing the souls of living people for safety in external objects, such as animals or plants.

invulnerable so long as the souls remain intact in the places where they have been deposited; for how can you kill a man by attacking his body if his life is not in it? The first in England to collect evidence of this widespread belief in external souls was my friend Mr. Edward Clodd, who read a paper on the subject before the Folk-lore Society in 1884.[1] Simultaneously or nearly simultaneously the same belief was illustrated, to some extent with the same evidence, by the learned Dutch ethnologist Professor G. A. Wilken in Holland.[2] But neither Mr. Clodd nor Professor Wilken associated the belief in the external soul with totemism. Each of them discussed the two subjects independently, without so much as mentioning the one in their discussion of the other.[3] Arguing from the facts collected by these

[1] Edward Clodd, "The Philosophy of Punchkin," *The Folk-lore Journal*, ii. (1884) pp. 289-303. The substance of this essay was afterwards republished by Mr. Clodd in his *Myths and Dreams* (London, 1885), pp. 188-198. Mr. Clodd illustrates the belief by folk-tales, beginning with the story of Punchkin in Miss Deccan's *Old Deccan Days* and citing as further examples the Norse tale of "The giant who had no heart in his body"; the Russian tale of "Koshchei the Deathless"; the Celtic tale, from Mr. J. F. Campbell's collection, of the king whose soul was in a duck's egg; the ancient Egyptian story of "The Two Brothers"; the tale in the *Arabian Nights* of the jinnee whose soul was in the crop of a sparrow; and many more. "The central idea of the Punchkin group of stories," says Mr. Clodd, "is the dwelling apart of the soul or heart, as the seat of life, apart from the body, in some secret place in some animate or inanimate thing, often an egg or a bird, sometimes a tree, flower, or necklace, the fate of the one involving the fate of the other. Now, stripped of all local additions and detail, this notion of the soul existing apart from the body and determining its fortunes is the survival of primitive belief in one or more entities *in* the body, yet not *of* it, which may leave that body at will during life, and which perchance leaves it finally, to return not, at death" ("The Philosophy of Punchkin," *The Folk-lore Journal*, ii. (1884) p. 302).

[2] G. A. Wilken, "De betrekking tusschen menschen-dieren- en plantleven naar het volksgeloof," *De Indische Gids*, November 1884, pp. 595-612. Wilken, like Mr. Clodd, starts from the story of Punchkin in Miss Frere's *Old Deccan Days*, and adds the Russian tale of "Koshchei the Deathless," the ancient Egyptian story of "The Two Brothers," etc. The same evidence was afterwards reproduced by Wilken, with fresh matter, in his essay "De Simsonsage," which was published in *De Gids*, 1888, No. 5. A copy of the latter paper was sent on publication to me by the author, with whom I had been in friendly correspondence since 1885 or 1886, and I used it with advantage in my discussion of the external soul in *The Golden Bough* (London, 1890), ii. 296 *sqq*. But Wilken's earlier paper on the same subject was unknown to me until Professor E. B. Tylor drew my attention to it in 1898.

[3] We have seen that Wilken explained totemism by the doctrine of metempsychosis (above, pp. 45 *sq*.). Mr. Clodd seems to have inclined to the view that totemism was rather the cause than the effect of a belief in the transmigration of souls. See his *Myths and Dreams* (London, 1885), pp. 99 *sqq*.

writers and from others which I cited, I conjectured that the relation of a man to his totem is explicable on the supposition that he supposes his soul to be lodged for safety in some external object, such as an animal or plant, but that not knowing which individual of the species is the receptacle of his soul he spares the whole species from a fear of unwittingly injuring the particular one with which his fate is bound up.[1] Further, I suggested that a widespread rite of initiation at puberty, which consists in a pretence of killing the novice and bringing him to life again, may have been the ceremony by which his soul is definitely transferred for safety to his totem, the notion perhaps being that an interchange of life is effected such that the man dies as a man and comes to life again as an animal, a plant, or whatever his totem may be. This transference was, on my theory, accomplished at puberty for the sake of guarding the individual against the mysterious dangers which the savage mind associates with sexual relations.[2]

On the whole this theory has not been confirmed by subsequent research, though the doctrine of external souls appears to be combined with totemism by some tribes in Central Australia and West Africa.

On the whole the results of subsequent research and increased knowledge of totemism have not confirmed this theory. It is true that amongst the most primitive totemic tribes known to us, the aborigines of Central Australia, there are traces of a doctrine of external souls associated with totemism; for there is some evidence that the ancestors of the present totemic clans are supposed to have transferred their souls to certain sacred implements of wood and stone which they call *churinga* and *nurtunjas*.[3] But the evidence is ambiguous and the connection of these sacred implements with totems is far from clear. Again, in West Africa totemism appears to be combined or entangled with the doctrine of the external soul among the Siena of the Ivory Coast and the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast.[4] Further, the same doctrine seems to be widely spread, whether with or without totemism is uncertain, among the tribes of Southern Nigeria and Cameroon; for we read again and again of a belief entertained by these peoples that the souls of living men and women are lodged in the

[1] *The Golden Bough* (London, 1890), ii. 332 *sqq.*

[2] *Op. cit.* ii. 242-359.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 124-128.

[4] See above, vol. ii. pp. 551, 552, 560.

bodies of animals, and that when the animals are killed the men and women die simultaneously.[1] Such beliefs would certainly furnish an adequate motive for sparing the species of animals with which a man believed his own life to be indissolubly linked; they would therefore explain the common attitude of people towards their totems. Yet the evidence which connects this theory of external human souls in animal bodies with totemism appears to be insufficient to justify us in regarding it as the source of the whole institution.

The author's second theory, that totemism originated as a system of magic designed to supply a community with the necessaries of life, especially with food and drink.

My second theory of totemism was suggested by the epoch-making discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia, which threw a flood of new and unexpected light on the subject. For the first time totemism was presented to us as a system essentially rational and practical in its aims, though certainly not in the means which it takes to compass them. For as totemism is worked at present by the tribes of Central Australia, its main business appears to be to supply the community with an abundance of food and of all the other necessaries and comforts of life, so far as these can be wrung from the penurious hand of nature in the desert. The object is excellent, but the measures which the natives have adopted to attain it are lamentably and absurdly inadequate. Each tribe is subdivided into a large number of totemic clans, and each clan is charged with the duty of manipulating for the general good of the community a particular department of nature which we call its totem. Nothing could be better in theory or worse in practice. A tribe so organised presents indeed a superficial resemblance to a modern industrial community organised on the sound economic principle of the division of labour. But the resemblance is deceptive. In reality the workers in the totemic hive are busily engaged in doing nothing. The bees are industrious, and there is a loud buzz, but unfortunately there is no honey. They spend their labour in vain. Rigged out in motley costumes of paint and birds' down, they weary themselves in the performance of elaborate mummeries which come to nothing; they waste their breath in the utterance of spells

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 593-600.

which die away ineffectually on the wind. In short they seek to accomplish their ends by means of magic, and magic has always deceived those who trusted in it. All its reasonings are fallacious, all its high-sounding promises false and hollow. Yet nature in a manner conspires to maintain the delusion; for sooner or later she always works the effect which the magician commands her to perform, and so he mistakes her for his servant. If we compare the face of nature to an illuminated screen on which figures pass to and fro, we may liken magicians to men gesticulating and shouting at the figures and imagining that they come and go at their bidding; while all the time the phantasmagoria is worked by a Master of the Show smiling invisible behind the screen.

This theory was suggested to the author by the discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia.

This remarkable revelation of totemism existing at the present day in Central Australia as an organised system of co-operative magic naturally suggested the thought, Do not these magical ceremonies for the multiplication of the totems furnish the clue to the origin of the institution? May not totemism simply be a system of magic designed to supply a community with all the necessaries of life and especially with the chief necessary of all, with food? The thought occurred to me in reading the proofs of Spencer and Gillen's first great book, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, and I communicated it by letter to my friend Professor Baldwin Spencer. From him I learned that he had been coming independently to a similar conclusion, and accordingly when he visited England soon afterwards he read at my suggestion a paper to the Anthropological Institute in which he set forth the views of himself and his colleague Mr. F. J. Gillen on the subject.[1] On the same occasion I sketched briefly the theory as it presented itself to me at the time,[2] and I afterwards published it more at length in two papers which are reprinted in the first volume of this book.[3] It would be superfluous, therefore, to repeat here the arguments by which I supported the hypothesis.

[1] Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, "Some Remarks on Totemism as applied to Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 275-280.

[2] J. G. Frazer, "Observations on Central Australian Totemism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) pp. 281-286.

[3] Above, vol. i. pp. 91-138.

Rather it is incumbent on me to state the reasons which have since led me, on mature reflection, to abandon it as unsatisfactory.

But the motive which this theory assigns for the origin of totemism is too rational, and the social organisation which it assumes is too complex, to be primitive.

Briefly stated, these reasons are two. The motive which the theory assigns for the origin of the institution is too rational, and the social organisation which it implies is too complex, to be primitive. It is unlikely that a community of savages should deliberately parcel out the realm of nature into provinces, assign each province to a particular band of magicians, and bid all the bands to work their magic and weave their spells for the common good. Communities of this general pattern do certainly exist among the Australian aborigines, and so far the theory rests not on a flimsy structure of hypotheses but on a solid basis of fact. But probably these co-operative communities of totemic magicians are developments of totemism rather than its germ. It may be possible to go behind them and to discover the elements out of which they have been evolved. We must seek for some simpler idea, some primitive superstition, and for some correspondingly simpler form of society, which together may have developed into the comparatively elaborate totemic system of the Central Australian tribes.

The author's third theory, that totemism originated in a primitive explanation of conception and childbirth. The theory was suggested by the beliefs of the Central Australian aborigines.

After long reflection it occurred to me that the simple idea, the primitive superstition at the root of totemism, may perhaps be found in the mode by which the Central Australian aborigines still determine the totems of every man, woman, and child of the tribe. That mode rests on a primitive theory of conception. Ignorant of the true causes of childbirth, they imagine that a child only enters into a woman at the moment when she first feels it stirring in her womb, and accordingly they have to explain to themselves why it should enter her body at that particular moment. Necessarily it has come from outside and therefore from something which the woman herself may have seen or felt immediately before she knew herself to be with child. The theory of the Central Australians is that a spirit child has made its way into her from the nearest of those trees, rocks, water-pools, or other natural features at which the spirits of the dead are waiting to be born again; and since only the spirits of people of one particular totem are believed

to congregate at any one spot, and the natives well know what totemic spirits haunt each hallowed plot of ground, a woman has no difficulty in determining the totem of her unborn child. If the child entered her, that is, if she felt her womb quickened, near a tree haunted by spirits of Kangaroo people, then her child will be of the kangaroo totem; if she felt the first premonitions of maternity near a rock tenanted by spirits of Emu people, then her child will be of the emu totem; and so on throughout the whole length of the totemic gamut. This is not a matter of speculation. It is the belief held universally by all the tribes of Central and Northern Australia, so far as these beliefs are known to us.[1]

But the beliefs of the Central Australian aborigines as to child-birth appear to be one stage removed from absolutely primitive.

Obviously, however, this theory of conception does not by itself explain totemism, that is, the relation in which groups of people stand to species of things. It stops short of doing so by a single step. What a woman imagines to enter her body at conception is not an animal, a plant, a stone or what not; it is only the spirit of a human child which has an animal, a plant, a stone, or what not for its totem. Had the woman supposed that what passed into her at the critical moment was an animal, a plant, a stone, or what not, and that when her child was born it would be that animal, plant, or stone, in human form, then we should have a complete explanation of totemism. For the essence of totemism, as I have repeatedly pointed out, consists in the identification of a man with a thing, whether an animal, a plant, or what not; and that identification would be complete if a man believed himself to be the very thing, whether animal, plant, or what not, which had entered his mother's womb at conception and had issued from it at childbirth. Accordingly I conjectured[2] that the Central Australian beliefs as to conception are but one remove from absolutely primitive totemism, which, on my theory, ought to consist in nothing more or less than in a belief that women are impregnated without the help of men by something which enters their womb at the moment when they

1 See above, vol. i. pp. 155 *sqq.*, 188 *sqq.*, 576 *sqq.*

2 Above, vol. i. pp. 157 *sqq.* The essay there reprinted was first published in 1905.

first feel it quickened; for such a belief would perfectly explain the essence of totemism, that is, the identification of groups of people with groups of things. Thus, if I was right, the clue to totemism was found just where we might most reasonably expect to find it, namely, in the beliefs and customs of the most primitive totemic people known to us, the Australian aborigines. In fact the clue had been staring us in the face for years, though we did not recognise it.

But a link in the chain of evidence was wanting; for, as I have just pointed out, the Australian beliefs cannot be regarded as absolutely primitive.[1] Three years after I propounded my theory, the missing link was found, the broken chain was completed, by the researches of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers; for in the Banks' Islands he discovered a series of beliefs and customs which fulfil exactly my theoretical definition of absolutely primitive totemism. The facts have already been fully laid before the reader;[2] here I need only briefly recapitulate them. In some of these islands many people identify themselves with certain animals or fruits and believe that they themselves partake of the qualities and character of these animals or fruits. Consistently with this belief they refuse to eat animals or fruits of these sorts on the ground that to do so would be a kind of cannibalism; they would in a manner be eating themselves. The reason they give for holding this belief and observing this conduct is that their mothers were impregnated by the entrance into their wombs of spirit animals or spirit fruits, and that they themselves are nothing but the particular animal or plant which effected a lodgment in their mother and in due time

The absolutely primitive beliefs as to conception and childbirth have since been found by Dr. Rivers among the Banks' Islanders, whose system of totemism accordingly appears to be that absolutely primitive system which the author had theoretically postulated.

[1] However, according to the German missionary Mr. C. Strehlow absolutely primitive totemism does occur in the Loritja (Luritcha) tribe of Central Australia. He says: "When a woman on her wanderings catches sight of a kangaroo, which suddenly vanishes from her sight, and she at the same moment feels the first symptoms of pregnancy, then a kangaroo *ratapa* (germ) has entered into her, not indeed the very kangaroo itself, for that was surely rather a kangaroo ancestor in animal form. Or a woman may find *lalitja* fruits and after a copious repast on them may feel unwell; in that case the *ratapa* (germ) of a *lalitja* has entered into her through her hips, not through the mouth. Both cases accordingly belong to the first mode in which children originate, namely, by the entrance of a *ratapa* (germ) into a woman who passes by a totem place." See the passage quoted by von Leonhardi in his Preface (the pages of which are not numbered) to Mr. C. Strehlow's *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral Australien*, i. (Frankfurt am Main, 1907).

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 89 *sqq.*

was born into the world with a superficial and deceptive resemblance to a human being. That is why they partake of the character of the animal or plant; that is why they refuse to eat animals or plants of that species. This is not called totemism, but nevertheless it appears to be totemism in all its pristine simplicity. Theoretically it is an explanation of childbirth resting on a belief that conception can take place without cohabitation; practically it is respect paid to species of animals, plants, or other natural objects on the ground of their assumed identity with human beings. The practice has long been known as totemism; the theory which explains the practice has now been disclosed by the discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia and of Dr. W. H. R. Rivers in the Banks' Islands.

The conceptional theory of totemism seems to explain all the facts of totemism in an easy and natural way.

Here at last we seem to find a complete and adequate explanation of the origin of totemism. The conceptional theory, as I have called my third and so far as I can see my final theory of totemism, accounts for all the facts in a simple and natural manner. It explains why people commonly abstain from killing and eating their totemic animals and plants or otherwise injuring their totems. The reason is that identifying themselves with their totems they are naturally careful not to hurt or destroy them. It explains why some people on the other hand consider themselves bound occasionally to eat a portion of the totemic animal or plant. The reason again is that identifying themselves with their totem they desire to maintain and strengthen that identity by assimilating from time to time its flesh and blood or vegetable tissues. It explains why people are often supposed to partake of the qualities and character of their totems. The reason again is that identifying themselves with their totems they necessarily partake of the totemic qualities and character. It explains why men often claim to exercise a magical control over their totems, in particular a power of multiplying them. The reason again is that identifying themselves with their totems they naturally suppose themselves invested with the like powers for the multiplication or control of the species. It explains why people commonly believe themselves to be descended from their totemic animals and plants,

and why women are sometimes said to have given birth to these animals or plants. The reason is that these animals or plants or their spirits are supposed to have actually entered into the mothers of the clan and to have been born from them in human form. It explains the whole of the immense range of totems from animals and plants upwards or downwards to the greatest works of nature on the one side and to the meanest handiwork of man on the other. The reason is that there is nothing from the light of the sun or the moon or the stars down to the humblest implement of domestic utility which may not have impressed a woman's fancy at the critical season and have been by her identified with the child in her womb. Lastly, it explains why totemic peoples often confuse their ancestors with their totems. The reason is that regarding their ancestors as animals or plants in essence, though human in form, they find it hard to distinguish even in thought between their outward human appearance and their inward bestial or vegetable nature; they think of them vaguely both as men and as animals or plants; the contradiction between the two things does not perplex them, though they cannot picture it clearly to their minds. Haziness is characteristic of the mental vision of the savage. Like the blind man of Bethsaida he sees men like trees and animals walking in a thick intellectual fog. Thus in the conceptional theory we seem to find a sufficient explanation of all the facts and fancies of totemism.

Thus the ultimate source of totemism is a savage ignorance of paternity. Such ignorance must at one time have been universal among men; and the totemic theory of conception and child-birth is one which

We conclude, then, that the ultimate source of totemism is a savage ignorance of the physical process by which men and animals reproduce their kinds; in particular it is an ignorance of the part played by the male in the generation of offspring. Surprising as such ignorance may seem to the civilised mind, a little reflection will probably convince us that, if mankind has indeed been evolved from lower forms of animal life, there must have been a period in the history of our race when ignorance of paternity was universal among men. The part played by the mother in the production of offspring is obvious to the senses and cannot but be perceived even by the animals; but the part played by the father is far less obvious and is indeed a matter of inference only, not of perception. How could the infantine intelligence of

would naturally suggest itself to the mind of the savage; in particular it would find support in the common fancies of pregnant women.

the primitive savage perceive that the child which comes forth from the womb is the fruit of the seed which was sowed there nine long months before? He is ignorant, as we know from the example of the Australian aborigines, of the simple truth that a seed sowed in the earth will spring up and bear fruit. How then could he infer that children are the result of a similar process? His ignorance is therefore a natural and necessary phase in the intellectual development of our race.[1] But while he could not for long ages divine the truth as to the way in which children come into the world, it was inevitable that so soon as he began to think at all he should turn his thoughts to this most important and most mysterious event, so constantly repeated before his eyes, so essential to the continuance of the species. If he formed a theory about anything it would naturally be about this. And what theory could seem to him more obviously suggested by the facts than that the child only enters into the mother's womb at the moment when she first feels it stirring within her? How could he think that the child was there long before she felt it? From the standpoint of his ignorance such a supposition might well appear unreasonable and absurd. And if the child enters the woman only at the first quickening of her womb, what more natural than to identify it with something that simultaneously struck her fancy and perhaps mysteriously vanished? It might be a kangaroo that hopped before her and disappeared in a thicket; it might be a gay butterfly that flickered past in the sunshine with the metallic brilliancy of its glittering wings, or a gorgeous parrot flapping by resplendent in soft plumage of purple, crimson, and orange. It might be the sunbeams streaming down on her through an opening in a forest glade, or the moonbeams sparkling and dancing on the water, till a driving cloud suddenly blotted out the silvery orb. It might be the sighing of the wind in the trees, or the surf on some stormy shore, its hollow roar

[1] Since this was written I have received Mr. E. S. Hartland's book *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909), in which the view expressed in the text is supported by a large array of evidence. Though the book bears date 1909 it was not published, at least it did not reach me, till February 1910. So far as I have as yet read it I have found no reason to alter anything which I had written on the subject.

sounding in her ears like the voice of a spirit borne to her from across the sea. Anything indeed that struck a woman at that mysterious moment of her life when she first knows herself to be a mother might easily be identified by her with the child in her womb. Such maternal fancies, so natural and seemingly so universal, appear to be the root of totemism.

Thus the present diffusion of totemism over a large part of the world is explained by causes which at a very remote time probably operated equally among all races of men, to wit, an ignorance of the true source of childbirth combined with a natural curiosity on the subject. We need not suppose that the institution has been borrowed to any great extent by one race from another. It may have everywhere sprung independently from the same simple root in the mental constitution of man. But it would be a great mistake to imagine that the cause which originated the institution has survived wherever the institution itself still lingers, in other words, that all totemic peoples are totally ignorant of paternity. In the history of society it constantly happens that a custom, once started, continues to be practised long after the motive which originated it has been forgotten; by the mere force of inertia an institution goes sliding along the old well-worn groove though the impetus which first set it in motion may have died out ages ago. So it has been with totemism. The institution is still observed by many tribes who are perfectly familiar with the part which the father plays in the begetting of children. Still even among them the new knowledge has not always entirely dispelled the ancient ignorance. Some of them still think that the father's help, though usual, is not indispensable for the production of offspring. Thus we have seen that the Baganda firmly believe that a woman may be impregnated by the purple flower of the banana falling on her shoulders or by the spirits of suicides and misborn infants which dart into her from their dishonoured graves at the cross-roads.[1] Even among civilised races which have long sloughed off totemism, if they ever had it, traces of the same primaeval ignorance survive in certain marriage customs which are still observed in England, in certain rites which barren women still perform

But while totemism may have originated in ignorance of paternity, it has survived among many peoples to whom the fact of paternity is well known, though some of them still continue to believe that women may occasionally conceive children without the help of the other sex.

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp 507 *sq.*

in the hope of obtaining a mother's joys, and in a multitude of popular tales, which set forth how a virgin conceived and brought forth a child without contact with the other sex.[1] Ages after such stories cease to be told of common people they continue to be related with childlike faith of heroes and demigods. The virgin birth of these worshipful personages is now spoken of as supernatural, but to the truly primitive savage it seems perfectly natural; indeed he knows of no other way in which people are born into the world. In short a belief that a virgin can conceive and bring forth a son is one of the last lingering relics of primitive savagery.

Thus the fancies and longings of pregnant women may have had a preponderant influence in the creation of totemism. Such fancies and longings are not confined to savages but are commonly shared by civilised women.

If we ask what in particular may have suggested the theory of conception which appears to be the tap-root of totemism, it seems probable that, as I have already indicated, a preponderant influence is to be ascribed to the sick fancies of pregnant women, and that so far, therefore, totemism may be described as a creation of the feminine rather than of the masculine mind. It is well known that the minds of women are in an abnormal state during pregnancy, nor is this strange; the presence of a living being within them, drawing its nourishment from their blood and growing day by day, must necessarily affect their whole bodily organism and disorder in some measure the mental processes which depend on it. One of the commonest symptoms of this partial mental derangement is a longing for a special and sometimes unusual kind of food. At such times a woman will feel a craving for some particular viand for which in her normal state she has no decided liking. She will consume large quantities of the food, if she can get it, and many people deem it a duty to supply her with that for which she craves. In Chili, for example, if a woman with child looks longingly at some dainty which tempts her fancy in a shop window, the shopman, perceiving her condition, will give it to her for nothing.[2] And it very

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 258-263. Many superstitious rites practised by women in all parts of the world for the purpose of obtaining offspring clearly imply an ignorance of the necessity of male co-operation. A large collection of examples will be found in Ploss and Bartels's book *Das Weib*[9] (Leipsic, 1908), i. 772-791. On the whole subject I may now refer readers to Mr. E. S. Hartland's book *Primitive Paternity*.

[2] This touching civility was communicated to me by my wife, who lived for several years in Chili. Similarly in

often happens that after her child is born a woman associates it in some way with the food for which she had longed, and which had supported and solaced her in the weary, hazardous months of pregnancy. For example, to take an actual case which happened not very long ago, Mrs. H. told a friend of mine, Mr. Walter Heape, F.R.S., that when her sister, who is many years younger than herself, was born, she had marked, in clear outline on the back of her neck, a raspberry: this mark still persists and the lady is about thirty years of age. The mother explained the mark by saying that she ate largely of raspberries during her pregnancy. As a matter of fact Mr. Heape was assured that she did so, that she had an extraordinary longing for the fruit and ate them continuously for many weeks; for her husband and she being rich, she was provided with raspberries as long as it was possible to obtain them.[1] Similar cases, I am told, are very common among women. To take another and somewhat different case. Captain W. told Mr. Walter Heape that while he was in China his wife was sleeping lightly in bed one hot night without bedclothes and with her nightgown open and her chest exposed. A lizard fell from the roof on her chest between the breasts; she woke with a start and saw the animal running away. She foretold that the child she was with would be marked on the chest, and Captain W. assured Mr. Heape that when the child was born it bore the mark of a lizard, with long body, four outstretched legs, and tail, on the very part corresponding to the part of its mother's chest on which the lizard had fallen. He added that the mark was red and that it persisted, though for how long it persisted Mr. Heape does not know.

Examples supplied by Mr. Walter Heape. The raspberry mark.

The lizard mark.

Cases of both sorts could be multiplied without difficulty. I have cited these two merely as typical and as reported, though not at first hand, by an entirely trustworthy witness. The first case illustrates the belief that a child may resemble

Such maternal fancies might among a totemic

the Black Forest it is said that pregnant women are allowed to gather fruit from other people's gardens provided that they eat it on the spot. See Ploss und Bartels, *Das Weib*,[9] i. 918, where more evidence on the subject will be found (pp. 916-920).

[1] Letter of Mr. Walter Heape, F.R.S., M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, dated 20th January 1910. Mr. Heape is now resident at Greyfriars, Southwold. He has paid special attention both to gynæcology and to cattle-breeding and is an acknowledged authority on both subjects.

people determine a child's totem.

a fruit which the mother partook of freely during her pregnancy; the other case illustrates the belief that a child may resemble an animal which fell on the mother while she was big. Such fancies, whether well or ill founded, are exactly analogous to the fancies by which in the Banks' Islands women determine what may be called the conceptional totems of their children.[1] Can we doubt that, if totemism had not gone out of fashion in England, Mrs. H.'s child would have had a raspberry for its totem and Captain W.'s child a lizard? Thus while totemism either never existed among the civilised races or has long been extinct, the causes which in the remote past probably gave rise to the institution persist in the midst of our civilisation to this day.

Breeders of cattle, horses, and fowls are also firmly convinced that the offspring of animals is affected by impressions made on the mother animal at conception and pregnancy.

The belief that the unborn young is affected by impressions of sight made on the pregnant mother is not confined to women; it is commonly shared by breeders of cattle, horses, and fowls. On this subject Mr. Walter Heape writes to me: "Many breeders of prize fowls, I am told, will not allow their breeding hens to mix with badly marked fowls, will even take care to remove any of the latter from a neighbouring pen which is in sight of their perfect birds. Breeders of horses, too, when breeding for pure colour, will not allow their pregnant mares to mix with white-faced horses or even allow a white-faced horse to run in the next field where it can be seen over the fence. They assert that if they do so they run great risk of getting foals with white faces or otherwise badly marked. I may quote, as a further modern example of this firmly established view, the well known breeder of black polled cattle who would not have any white or coloured article on his farm, but who had all his fences, gates, etc., all painted black. The influence of surroundings in this respect is of course a very ancient belief, it existed in the time of Jacob. But another perhaps even still more remarkable belief among many breeders is exemplified in the following. A well known breeder in the North of England told me, he set himself the task of improving his stud many years ago, and for that purpose employed as sires certain horses very markedly superior in looks to his breeding mares. For two or three years he was

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 89 *sqq.*

greatly disappointed in the result; the foals, he said, invariably took after their mothers. He spoke especially of their outward appearance, which was of particular importance to him as he was breeding good class carriage horses, and stylish looking horses command a high price in this business. It occurred to him that it was the custom in his stables to have his mares covered in a loose-box which was rather dark, and that possibly this fact affected the result. He therefore arranged that the mares should be daily led about a yard, from whence they could see the stallion, for some days before they were covered, and further that they should be covered in the open yard after being near to the stallion for some time previously. The result he told me was extraordinary: the foals so produced almost invariably took after the sires. This belief in the transmission of maternal mental impressions to the young is not confined to stock, and is gravely referred to in medical books of about a hundred years ago and possibly later than that. You will understand that so far as the truth of these stories is concerned I can give you no assurance, indeed so far as is actually known there is no evidence in favour of their truth, and much evidence to induce one to believe they may all be otherwise explained. But I understand you are not concerned with the truth of these matters but only with the belief in their truth, and I have no hesitation in saying that both as regards women and as regards stock-breeders it is very widely and very firmly believed."[1]

Difficulty in understanding how mental impressions made on a mother can be conveyed to her unborn young.

The difficulty in the way of accepting such widespread beliefs as true is this. There is no known means of communication by which sensations, ideas, or emotions can be conveyed from a woman either to the unfertilised ova in her ovary or to a fertilised ovum, that is, to an embryo in her womb. For so far as we are aware the only channel by which sensations, ideas, and emotions can be transmitted is a nerve, and there is no nerve connecting the nervous system of a woman either with the ova or with the embryo. An ovum is an isolated cell enclosed by a specially thick membrane and lying in a specially produced cavity or follicule in the ovary. It absorbs nourishment from the surrounding

[1] Letter of Mr. Walter Heape to me, dated 20th January 1910.

cells; for processes of these cells are in direct communication with the protoplasm of the ovum, being projected through minute pores in its thick enclosing membrane. The mother's blood nourishes directly the cells and through them indirectly the ovum; but there is no nervous connection between the ovum and her. When the ovum has been fertilised by union with the male germ and has passed from the ovary into the uterus, the resulting embryo continues to be at least as much isolated from the mother's body as the unfertilised ovum in the ovary had been. No nerve connects the embryo with the mother, and the blood of the mother does not circulate in the blood-vessels of the child. But its constituents pass indirectly into the blood of the embryo through the walls of the blood-vessels. That, so far as we know, is the only communication which takes place between a mother and her unborn infant.[1]

If such mental impressions are really conveyed to the embryo it must be by some agency of which at present we know nothing.

Thus it is difficult to understand how any mental impressions made on a woman either before or after conception can be transmitted by her to her offspring, since the physical mechanism by which alone, so far as we know, the transmission could take place is wholly wanting. Yet the widespread belief of women, and still more perhaps the almost universal belief of experienced breeders, in the frequent occurrence of such transmission is certainly deserving of attention. If the belief is indeed well founded, it would seem necessary to conclude that mind can act on mind through a channel other than that of the nervous system. "So far as I can see," writes Mr. Walter Heape, "if there is such a thing as the transference of mental impressions from mother to ovum in ovary or from mother to embryo in uterus, it is brought about by means of some force or agency of which we know nothing. I think we may say that most scientific men are inclined to deny that such transference really occurs. Personally I am not prepared to deny it, but if it is true I cannot explain how it is done."[2]

[1] These physiological details I derive from explanations given me by Mr. Walter Heape in conversation and in two letters dated 20th and 24th January 1910.

[2] Letter of Mr. Walter Heape to me dated 24th January 1910. Mr. F. H. A. Marshall, of Christ's College, Cambridge, who has made a special study of sexual physiology, informed me in conversation that he agrees with Mr. Heape.

It is to be hoped that science may yet enlighten us as to the dark border line which divides what we call mind from what we call matter, and may inform us how the mysterious transition is made from the one to the other. If it should turn out that mind may communicate with mind by means of which we as little dream now as we lately dreamed of the existence of radium, it may follow as a corollary that the impressions made on a mother's mind are really imprinted, as so many people firmly believe, on the mind and body of her unborn offspring. To demonstrate this would in a sense be to supply a physical basis for totemism; for it would shew that the resemblances which women often trace between their children and the things which struck their fancy during pregnancy may be real, not merely fanciful; that the figure of a raspberry or a lizard, for example, may actually be printed on the body of an infant whose mother ate raspberries or was visited by a lizard while she had the child in her womb. Thus what appears to be the essence of totemism, namely, the identification of human beings with species of animals, plants, or other things, would be intelligible and to a certain extent excusable, since it might often rest on a real, not merely an imaginary, similarity between the two. Further, we should then understand why each totemic clan, while it is compelled to draw all its wives from other clans, may nevertheless preserve a distinct physical type of its own, unaffected by the stream of alien blood which is constantly pouring into its veins. This remarkable preservation of the clan type under a rigorous rule of clan exogamy is exemplified by the Baganda in Central Africa and is reported of some Tinneh clans in North-West America.[1] On the hypothesis which I have indicated we may suppose that the children of each clan take after their mothers or their fathers, as the case may be, according as the mental impressions made on pregnant women are derived mainly from their own clan or from the clan of their husband. Where husbands live with the families of their wives, the impressions made on a mother would naturally be derived chiefly from her own family and clan, and consequently the children would

If the belief in such impressions should turn out to be well founded, it would supply a physical basis for totemism, and might explain the preservation of distinct physical types in exogamous clans.

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 505 *sq.*, vol. iii. pp. 355, 356.

resemble their mothers; where the wives live with their husbands' families, the impressions made on a mother would naturally be derived chiefly from her husband's family and clan, and consequently children would resemble their fathers. But where the husband lives with his wife's family, descent is usually, perhaps invariably traced in the maternal line; where the wife lives with the husband's family there is a tendency, by no means invariably carried out, to trace descent in the paternal line. Thus it would often, though certainly not always, happen that with maternal descent the children would resemble their mothers, and that with paternal descent they would resemble their fathers. But all this must remain a matter of speculation until the fundamental question of the possible influence of a mother on her unborn child has been definitely answered by biology.

Even if the belief should prove to be baseless, it may still have been the source of totemism; since many great institutions have been founded on superstition.

Even if the answer should be negative—that is, even though it should be demonstrated that the supposed influence is a pure superstition, and that all the numerous instances which have been alleged of it are apocryphal—the theory which derives totemism from a belief in such influence would not be affected thereby. That belief may be utterly false, yet still it has been held by a great part of mankind, and may therefore, like many other false beliefs, have served as the base of a great institution. If human institutions were built only on truth, no doubt they would be better and more durable; but taking the world as it is we must acknowledge that many showy structures have been piled high on rotten foundations; that error dies hard, and that systems founded on it have too often a very long lease of life. Amongst such systems the institution of totemism has been one. For even if it could be proved to have a physical basis in certain real resemblances between people and things, the theoretical inferences which it has drawn from these resemblances are always false, and the practical rules which it has deduced from them are generally absurd.

But while the conceptional theory seems to explain

On the whole, then, the conceptional theory of totemism appears to satisfy all the conditions of a reasonable hypothesis, and we may acquiesce in it till a better shall have been suggested. But the theory throws no light on the

origin of the other great social institution which is generally associated with totemism, I mean the custom of exogamy. In order to complete our view of the two institutions it only remains to enquire how exogamy arose and how it has so often become almost inextricably entangled with totemism.

totemism, it does not explain exogamy.

§ 3. *The Origin of Exogamy*

The same acute mind which discovered totemism discovered exogamy. It was the Scotchman John Ferguson McLennan who first perceived and proclaimed the historical importance of these two great institutions. The discoveries reflect all the greater credit on his acumen because the evidence by which he supported them was both scanty in amount and for the most part indifferent in quality. But the defect has been amply supplied by subsequent researches, which his far-seeing genius did more than anything else to stimulate and direct. An immense body of evidence, of which a large part has been placed before the reader in the preceding volumes, establishes the widespread existence and the powerful influence of the two institutions beyond the reach of doubt and cavil. Later writers may indeed, dazzled by the novelty and the range of the vista thus opened up into the human past, have exaggerated the impulse which the institutions in question, and particularly totemism, have given to the growth of society and religion; but that they have both, and particularly exogamy, been factors of great moment in the moral and social evolution of humanity can hardly be disputed by any candid enquirer who is acquainted with the facts. Therefore among the pioneers who have explored that dark region of primitive human thought and custom which lies beyond the pale of written history, and which but for him and a few like him might have seemed a limbo never to be lighted by the student's lamp, a foremost place must always be assigned to John Ferguson McLennan.

J. F. McLennan the discoverer both of exogamy and of totemism.

His discovery of exogamy preceded his discovery of totemism and was first given to the world in his book *Primitive Marriage*. He was led to the discovery by a study of the curious marriage ceremony which consists

He was led to his discovery of exogamy by an

attempt to explain the form of capture as a marriage ceremony.

in a pretence of carrying off the bride by violence even when the families on both sides have consented to the wedding and have indeed arranged it between them. This ceremony, which he called the form of capture at marriage, he found to be practised by many different peoples in many parts of the world; and searching for a cause which might explain it he came to the conclusion that the form or pretence of capturing wives must everywhere have been preceded by the reality of it, in other words, that at some time in the history of society there must have been a widespread custom of capturing women from other and hostile tribes in order to serve as wives to their captors. Pursuing this line of enquiry he next asked why men should carry off wives from other communities instead of marrying those whom they had at home. It was at this point that he made the discovery of exogamy. He found, that is to say, that it is a common rule with savage and barbarous peoples never to marry a woman of their own tribal subdivision or group but always to marry a woman of a subdivision or group different from their own. This newly discovered rule he called by the name of exogamy or "marrying out," an excellent and appropriate word which is now practically indispensable in this branch of study.[1]

[1] McLennan's first book, *Primitive Marriage*, in which the discovery of exogamy was announced, and of which the preface was dated January 1865, was afterwards reprinted with other essays in a volume called *Studies in Ancient History*, of which the first edition appeared in 1876 and the second in 1886 (Macmillan and Co., London). I have used the second edition of the *Studies*, and my references will be to it. For the account which I have given of the way in which McLennan was led to the discovery of exogamy, see his *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. xvi. *sq.*, 9 *sqq.*, 22 *sqq.*, 31 *sqq.* The adoption of the terms exogamy and endogamy ("marrying out" and "marrying in") is mentioned and justified on p. 25 of that work. It is fair to add, and McLennan himself pointed it out (*op. cit.* p. 56), that the discovery of exogamy had been anticipated by the acute Cambridge ethnologist, R. G. Latham, in a passage which for the sake of its historical interest I will transcribe. Speaking of the Magars, a tribe of Nepaul, Latham says: "Imperfect as is our information for the early history and social constitution of the Magar, we know that a trace of a tribual division (why not say an actual division into tribes?) is to be found. There are twelve *thums*. All individuals belonging to the same *thum* are supposed to be descended from the same male ancestor; descent from the same great mother being by no means necessary. So husband and wife must belong to different *thums*. Within one and the same there is no marriage. Do you wish for a wife? If so, look to the *thum* of your neighbour; at any rate look beyond your own. This is the first time I have found occasion to

McLennan did more than reveal the existence of exogamy as an institution which has deeply affected the evolution of marriage and of the family. He also put forward a carefully considered hypothesis to explain its origin; and as he was a man of a cautious temper and a singularly clear and penetrating mind, his theory of the rise of the great institution which he discovered deserves respectful attention. But while he believed that he could explain exogamy he renounced the attempt to explain totemism, and contented himself with collecting facts and tracing, as far as he could, the influence of totemism on religion and society without lifting the veil which shrouded its origin. On this subject his brother writes: "It may here be said that he had for a time a hypothesis as to the origin of Totemism, but that he afterwards came to see that there were conclusive reasons against it. At last, as far as I know, he had none—which should be easily intelligible to any one who knows the subject and knows what, on his view, was involved in Totemism. To show its prevalence, to establish some leading points in its history, to exhibit it in connection with kinship and with Exogamy, and to make out its connection with worship appeared to him to be the matters primarily important."[1]

While McLennan put forward a theory to explain exogamy, he put forward no theory to explain totemism.

McLennan's caution in refusing to speculate on the origin of totemism at a time when the evidence at his disposal did not admit of a correct solution of the problem can only be commended. It was not his fault if many others rushed in where he feared to tread. Thick darkness continued to cover the beginning of totemism till the epoch-making discoveries of Spencer and Gillen threw a flood of light upon it; though, as I have pointed out, their light shone steadily on totemism for years before any one

Both McLennan and W. Robertson Smith held that totemism is older than exogamy.

mention this practice. It will not be the last; on the contrary, the principle it suggests is so common as to be almost universal. We shall find it in Australia; we shall find it in North and South America; we shall find it in Africa; we shall find it in Europe; we shall suspect and infer it in many places where the actual evidence of its existence is incomplete." (R. G. Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, London, 1859, vol. i. p. 80.) But the brief flash of Latham's somewhat meteoric genius cannot eclipse the star of McLennan.

[1] Donald McLennan, *The Patriarchal Theory, based on the Papers of the late John Ferguson McLennan* (London, 1885), pp. vi. *sq.*

perceived, lying full within its radiant circle, the missing clue, the scarlet thread, which was to guide us to the heart of the labyrinth.[1] But while the discoverer of totemism was content to confess his ignorance of its origin, he formed a clear and definite opinion as to its relation to exogamy. To quote his brother again: "As the theory of the Origin of Exogamy took shape, and the facts connected with it reduced themselves to form in his mind, the conclusion was reached that the system conveniently called Totemism—from which his essay on the Worship of Animals and Plants took its departure—must have been established in rude societies prior to the origin of Exogamy. This carried back the origin of Totemism to a state of man in which no idea of incest existed."[2] Similarly McLennan's equally acute and far more learned disciple, W. Robertson Smith, wrote: "Totemism is generally found in connection with exogamy, but must, as J. F. McLennan concluded, be older than exogamy in all cases; indeed it is easy to see that exogamy necessarily presupposes the existence of a system of kinship which took no account of degrees but only of participation in a common stock. Such an idea as this could not be conceived by savages in an abstract form; it must necessarily have had a concrete expression, or rather must have been thought under a concrete and tangible form, and that form seems to have been always supplied by totemism. The origin of this curious system, lying as it does behind exogamy, is yet more obscure than the origin of the latter."[3]

[1] See above, pp. 57-59.

[2] Donald McLennan, *The Patriarchal Theory* (London, 1885), p. vi. Compare J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, Second Series (London, 1896), pp. 58 *sq.*: "Unless the totem bond had been fully established in the stock-groups before they became to any great extent interfused in local tribes, it could not have been established at all. It is the test, and apart from the memory of individuals, the only test, of blood-relationship among the lower races; and without it, as far as we know, there is absolutely nothing which could hold together, as a body of kindred, persons descended from the same stock-group, but living in different local tribes, or even the same persons living in the same local tribe. We have, then, the inference that the religious regard for the totem, the blood-feud, and of course the system of female kinship—without which no commencement of the transfusion could have taken place—were firmly established in the original stock-groups, before the appearance of the *system* of capture or exogamy."

[3] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (Cambridge, 1885), p. 187 (pp. 218 *sq.* of the Second Edition, London, 1903).

Subsequent research has confirmed the view of the priority of totemism to exogamy.

The course of subsequent research, which has immensely enlarged the evidence for the practice both of totemism and of exogamy, has strongly confirmed the conclusion reached by these eminent scholars and thinkers as to the priority of totemism to exogamy. Any theory based on the assumption that the two things have from the first existed together as different sides of the same institution, or that totemism is derived from exogamy, is founded on misapprehension and can only end in confusion and error. If we are to understand the rise and history of totemism and exogamy, we must clearly apprehend that totemism existed in all its essential features before exogamy was thought of, in other words, that exogamy was an innovation imposed on communities which were already divided into totemic clans. The totemic clan is a totally different social organism from the exogamous class, and we have good grounds for thinking that it is far older.

McLennan supposed that exogamy arose through a scarcity of women caused by female infanticide, which obliged men to steal wives from other groups and so gradually established a prejudice in favour of marriage with foreign women.

The theory by which J. F. McLennan attempted to explain the origin of exogamy is very simple and at first sight very persuasive. The general cause of exogamy, according to him, was a scarcity of women, which obliged men to go outside of their own group for wives and so gradually established a prejudice in favour of foreign women so strong that in time men were strictly forbidden to marry women of their own group. "The scarcity of women," he says, "within the group led to a practice of stealing the women of other groups, and in time it came to be considered improper, because it was unusual, for a man to marry a woman of his own group."[1] Further, he explained this assumed scarcity of women by a general practice of female infanticide. He supposed that savages, unable to support all the children that were born, systematically murdered a large number of female infants, because they foresaw that both in the search for food and in fights with hostile groups females would be far less useful than males. Accordingly by commonly killing female children and sparing male children they produced such a want of balance between the sexes and such a numerical preponderance of males over

[1] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), p. 160; compare *id.* pp. 75 *sq.*, 90 *sq.*, 115, 124.

females that there were not women enough in the group to supply all the men with wives. Hence in order to obtain wives it was necessary to go to other groups, and as the relations between neighbouring groups were, on McLennan's hypothesis, uniformly hostile, the men could only obtain the women they needed by forcible capture. Thus a regular system of capturing wives was established; men came to think that marriage by capture was the only true marriage; and in time the practice of marrying women of their own group not only went out of fashion but was rigorously prohibited. This was, according to McLennan, the origin of exogamy. And after peaceful relations had been established between neighbouring groups, men had become so innured to the habit of stealing wives from their enemies that they continued to regard robbery as the only legitimate title to marriage; hence even when a marriage had been arranged between two families with the consent and approval of all the parties concerned, it was still, for the sake of decency and propriety, deemed necessary for the bridegroom's family to make a great show of carrying off the bride by violence and for the bride's family to make a corresponding show of desperate resistance. This was, according to McLennan, the origin of the form of capture at marriage.[1]

The theory is open to grave objections.

Plausible as McLennan's theory of the origin of exogamy may seem at first sight to be, it is open to grave objections. I propose to shew briefly, first, that the facts which it assumes are not sufficiently attested to make them a sound basis for a theory; and, second, that even if they were well attested they would not explain exogamy.

It turns entirely on the assumption that in primitive society there are commonly more men than women.

First, as to the supposed facts, McLennan's whole theory turns on an assumption that in primitive society there is a serious want of balance between the sexes and that the numerical preponderance is generally if not invariably, on the side of the males. This is an essential point in the theory. If it is not established, the whole theory remains a mere hypothesis suspended in the air without any solid foundation in fact. For it was just this numerical preponderance of males, in other words, the scarcity of women,

[1] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 9 *sqq.*, 22 *sqq.*, 50 *sqq.*, 72 *sqq.*, 90 *sq.*, 115, 124, 160.

which according to McLennan led or compelled men to go abroad for their wives and so gave rise to the practice of exogamy. Hence it is of the first importance to enquire, Does this assumed numerical superiority of males over females commonly exist in primitive communities? are men generally much more numerous than women in savage tribes?

McLennan supposed that a numerical preponderance of males was caused by a practice of female infanticide.

The proposition that they are so, which is the crucial point in his hypothesis, was not proved by McLennan. Exact statistics as to the proportions of the sexes in primitive communities are indeed almost wholly wanting, and in their absence it is necessarily impossible to prove directly that men usually far exceed women in number among savage tribes. Accordingly McLennan endeavoured to establish it indirectly by adducing evidence that in savage society the balance of the sexes is artificially disturbed and the number of women greatly reduced by a widespread practice of female infanticide.[1] That this cause has in some cases produced the assumed effect appears to be well attested. Infanticide is known, for example, to have been exceedingly prevalent in Polynesia, where the smallness of the islands and the impossibility of finding room for an expanding population probably furnished the chief motive for murdering children at birth. Indeed this motive was alleged by the natives themselves as an excuse for the crime. They have been heard to say that if all the children born were allowed to live, there would not be food enough produced in the islands to support them.[2] Now with regard to the choice of victims we are told that "during the whole of their lives, the females were subject to the most abasing degradation; and their sex was often, at their birth, the cause of their destruction: if the purpose of the unnatural parents had not been fully matured before, the circumstance of its being a female child was often sufficient to fix their determination on its death. Whenever we have asked them, what could induce them to make a distinction so invidious, they have generally

This cause appears to have produced the supposed effect in Polynesia.

[1] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 75 *sq.*, 90 *sq.*; *id.*, *Studies in Ancient History*, Second Series (London, 1896), pp. 74-111. For a large collection of evidence on infanticide in general, see E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. (London, 1906) pp. 394 *sqq.*

[2] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, i. (London 1832) p. 257.

answered, that the fisheries, the service of the temple, and especially war, were the only purposes for which they thought it desirable to rear children; that in these pursuits women were comparatively useless; and therefore female children were frequently not suffered to live. Facts fully confirm these statements."[1]

In other parts of the world also female infanticide seems to have resulted in a numerical superiority of men over women.

In Vanua Levu, one of the two greatest of the Fijian Islands, a large proportion, nearer two-thirds than half, of the children born are said to have been murdered within two days of birth. Infanticide was reduced to a system. There were professional practitioners of it in every village. "All destroyed after birth are females, because they are useless in war, or, as some say, because they give so much trouble. But that the former is the prevailing opinion appears from such questions as these, put to persons who may plead for the little one's life: 'Why live? Will she wield a club? Will she poise a spear?'"[2] Again, among the Guanas of Paraguay the number of women is said to be much less than that of the men, and the disproportion is attributed to female infanticide, the women murdering most of their female children in order, on the principle of supply and demand, to enhance the value of those that remain.[3] Again, female infanticide has been and perhaps still is commonly practised by the Todas of Southern India, with the result that the men considerably exceed the women in number.[4] Again, among the Loucheux of North-West America women are said to be fewer than men, and in this tribe also female infanticide appears to be one cause of the disproportion between the sexes.[5] Again, female infanticide used to be practised among several of the Naga tribes in Assam, and there was consequently a great deficiency of women.[6]

[1] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, i. (London, 1832) p. 257.

[2] Thomas Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, Second Edition (London, 1860), i. 180 *sq.* If the estimate of the number of children slain is correct, we must suppose that girls were born in much larger numbers than boys in Vanua Levu. The example of some African tribes, including the Baganda, shews that there is nothing improbable in this supposition. See below, pp. 86 *sq.*

[3] F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique Méridionale* (Paris, 1809), ii. 93 *sq.*

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 263.

[5] See above, vol. iii. p. 358.

[6] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by

Thus there can be little doubt that in some savage or barbarous communities female infanticide has actually produced the effect assumed by McLennan. On the other hand, it is to be observed that in other communities a contrary practice of male infanticide has produced the contrary result, namely, a numerical preponderance of women over men. Thus among the Abipones of South America the custom of infanticide was very common. The motive assigned for the custom by the acute and observant missionary, Dobrizhoffer, was not any provident Malthusian fear of the population exceeding the means of subsistence. It was a rule, he tells us, with these savages that women suckled their children for three years, and that during this long period of lactation they might have no commerce with their husbands. The result was that the men, impatient of so long an abstention from the marriage bed, took to themselves other women in the interval. This excited the jealousy of their first wives, and accordingly in order to avoid a prolonged separation from their husbands they commonly murdered their infants at birth. The same customs of lactation prolonged for years and of chastity compulsory on nursing mothers are exceedingly common among savages[1] and are indeed one of the most frequent causes of polygamy;[2] hence it is probable that these customs, rather than a prudent calculation of the ratio between the population and the means of subsistence, often furnish the real motive for infanticide. Be that as it may, among the Abipones the mothers more usually spared their female than their male infants, not because daughters were dearer to them than sons, but because they were much more profitable in the marriage market; for whereas a wife had to be bought for a son, daughters could always be sold for a good price to husbands. Hence Dobrizhoffer conjectured, though he did not affirm, that in this tribe the women outnumbered the men. However, he did not attribute their assumed numerical superiority purely to male infanticide; he set it down partly to the death

On the other hand, in some communities a practice of male infanticide seems to have resulted in a numerical superiority of women over men. Custom of the Abipones.

E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 120, note*. But the writer adds that polyandry never resulted from these causes.

[1] For examples see Ploss und Bartels, *Das Weib*[9] (Leipsic, 1908), i. 903 *sqq.*, ii. 478 *sqq.*

[2] Compare E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), pp. 483 *sq.*

of men in the skirmishes which were constantly taking place with hostile tribes.[1] And it is obvious that this latter cause must tend to diminish the number of males by comparison with females in all tribes which live in a perpetual state of warfare with their neighbours.

Custom of the Banks' Islanders.

Amongst the Banks' Islanders a similar cold calculation of profit induced women to spare their infant daughters oftener than their infant sons. "Male children were killed," says Dr. Codrington, "rather than female in that group; if there were female children already, another would not be desired; but the females were rather preserved, as it is important to observe, because of the family passing through the female side, as well as with the prospect of gain when the girl should be betrothed and married."[2]

Even among low savages who do not sell their daughters to husbands women are still valuable, because they can be exchanged for wives; hence in such communities it is by no means clear that more girls than boys would be killed at birth.

It may be said that tribes like the Abipones and the Banks' Islanders, among whom women rank as a marketable commodity, so that it becomes worth their parents' while to rear them like turkeys for sale, have made some progress on at least the strictly economic side of civilisation, and that therefore their example proves nothing for savages lower in the scale of culture, who have no property which they can exchange for wives. Hence it might be inferred that where the purchase of wives is not in vogue, one of the best guarantees for the preservation of female infants is absent, and that accordingly in such communities the practice of female infanticide may rage unchecked. But this is by no means true of the lowest savages whom we know well, the Australian aborigines. Among them the women are certainly not sold, for the simple reason that men have no property which would be accepted as a commercial equivalent for a wife. But if wives are not bought they are bartered. The commonest of all modes of obtaining a wife in aboriginal Australia appears to be to give a sister, daughter, or other female relative in exchange. A man who has not a sister, daughter, or other female relative to give away stands little chance of getting a wife at all. On the other hand if a man is well provided with sisters and other womenkind he can acquire many wives by barter, and since this is an object of

[1] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (Vienna, 1784), ii. 107.

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 229.

ambition with the Australians, as with most savages, every man has a powerful motive for rearing as many daughters as he can with a view to swelling his harem or providing his sons with mates.[1] Thus even among the lowest savages it is by no means clear that a practice of infanticide would tell more heavily against females than against males.

In point of fact, though infanticide is common among the Australian aborigines there is very little evidence that more girls than boys are murdered at birth. On the contrary, if we may judge by the evidence of the best authorities, no distinction is made between the sexes in this respect, and that because the practice is not resorted to, as McLennan supposed, from a provident desire to keep down the population within the limits of the food supply, but simply under the pressure of immediate need, such as famine or the difficulty a mother finds in carrying and providing for two infants at the same time. Hence it is usually a mere chance whether a male child or a female child will be destroyed. For example, if a woman's first child is a female and she has afterwards a male child before the first is weaned and able to shift for itself, then the male child will probably be killed and the female child spared. But if the elder child was a boy and the younger a girl, then it is the girl who must go to the wall.[2]

Among the Australian aborigines there is little evidence that more girls than boys are murdered at birth; according to some of the best authorities no distinction is made between the sexes.

[1] See P. Beveridge, "Of the Aborigines inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1883*, xvii. (1884) p. 23: "Polygamy is allowed to any extent, and this law is generally taken advantage of by those who chance to be rich in sisters, daughters, or female wards, to give in exchange for wives. No man can get a wife unless he has a sister, ward, or daughter, whom he can give in exchange. Fathers of grown-up sons frequently exchange their daughters for wives, not for their sons, however, but for themselves, even although they already have two or three." As to the practice of exchanging sisters or other female relatives for wives, see above, vol. i. pp. 409, 460, 463, 483, 491, 540, vol. ii. pp. 18, 26, 28 *sq.*, 40.

[2] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 324: "Infanticide is very common, and appears to be practised solely to get rid of the trouble of rearing children, and to enable the woman to follow her husband about in his wanderings, which she frequently could not do if encumbered with a child. The first three or four are often killed; no distinction appears to be made in this case between male or female children"; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 749: "In the Wotjobaluk tribe infants were killed in the old times, no difference being made between boys and girls. If a couple had a child, either boy or girl, say ten years old, and a baby was then born to them, it might be killed and cooked for its elder brother or sister to eat";

Again, in times of famine it seems to have been a frequent practice with the Australian savages not only to kill but to eat their children;[1] but we are not told that they killed or spared either sex by preference at such a pinch. All this is in harmony with the improvident nature of low savages, who think that sufficient unto the day is the evil therefore and take no thought for the morrow. The long-headed, cold-hearted calculation, which spares boys because in years to come they will grow up to fight and hunt, or girls because they will fetch a round price in the marriage market, belongs to a higher stage of intellectual, if not of moral, evolution than the rude savagery to which the origin of exogamy must be referred. "An Australian native," we are told, "never looks far enough ahead to consider what will be the effect on the food supply in future years if he allows a particular child to live; what affects him is simply the question of how it will interfere with the work of his wife so far as their own camp is concerned; while from the woman's side the question is, can she provide food enough for the new-born infant and for the next youngest?"[2] Indeed when we remember that no Australian tribe is known ever to have stored food for use at a time of dearth, we may dismiss as improbable the supposition that they commonly killed their

Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 264: "It is infanticide which is resorted to for the purpose of keeping down the number of a family. And here we may say that the number is kept down, not with any idea at all of regulating the food supply, so far as the adults are concerned, but simply from the point of view that, if the mother is suckling one child, she cannot properly provide food for another, quite apart from the question of the trouble of carrying two children about"; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 608: "In all of the tribes infanticide is practised. There is no difference made in respect of either sex. The usual reason given for killing the child is that there is another one still being suckled by the mother." On the other hand Mr. E. M. Curr gave it as his opinion "that the Australian females bear on an average six children, or did before the advent of the Whites, and whilst living in their natural state; and that they reared two boys and one girl, as a rule; the maximum being about ten. The rest were destroyed immediately after birth" (E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 70).

[1] See below, pp. 261 *sq.*

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 264. However, the Mining tribe, which practised infanticide to a certain extent, alleged as a reason "that if their numbers increased too rapidly there would not be enough food for everybody" (A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 748). But this may be only a white man's way of saying what is said more exactly by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen from the native point of view.

female children lest in years to come they should imperil the means of subsistence of the family or tribe.

Thus, in ascribing the origin of exogamy to a system of female infanticide conceived and executed on the politic principles of Malthus by rude savages,[1] McLennan appears to have greatly overrated the intelligent foresight of primitive man. The practice of female infanticide has unquestionably been common among many races, but there is great force in Mr. Fison's contention that it has prevailed chiefly among more advanced tribes and not among the very low savages, to whom the origin of exogamy must be referred. It is not merely that the advanced tribes are in general more provident and therefore more capable of carrying out a far-seeing, if cruel, policy which aims at adjusting the population to the means of subsistence; they have often special motives for killing their female children which do not apply to peoples at a lower grade of culture.[2] On the whole, then, we may set aside as unproved and improbable the theory which finds the origin of exogamy in a scarcity of women caused by female infanticide.

On the whole, the theory that exogamy originated in a scarcity of women caused by female infanticide is unproved and improbable.

But the proportion of the sexes in any community may vary from many causes besides a systematic destruction of infant girls; and if it should appear that from any cause whatever there are generally many more men than women in savage tribes, McLennan's hypothesis would still be theoretically tenable, since it depends simply on a general disproportion between the sexes in favour of males, and not at all on any particular cause of that disproportion. Unfortunately exact information as to the proportions of the sexes in the lower races is for the most part wanting, and the causes which determine the relative numbers of

But McLennan's hypothesis would still be theoretically tenable if it should appear that for any cause whatever there are generally more men than

[1] Compare what McLennan says on this subject (*Studies in Ancient History*, Second Series, p. 83): "Put in this point of view, a system of infanticide appears as embodying a policy of despair, developed from point to point, through trials and errors that no doubt were sometimes fatal to the groups making them, but which contributed to forward the thinking out by them of what was the best form of the policy, its best practical expression. We may believe that no animal below the rank of man in the full possession of his reasoning powers could have thought out such a policy, and for the credit of human nature that such a policy would never have been thought out or acted upon except in the most desperate circumstances."

[2] See Mr. L. Fison's criticisms of McLennan's theory in Fison and Howitt's *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 134-138.

women in savage tribes. In point of fact, in some savage tribes there are commonly more women than men.

men and women in any community are to a great extent obscure.[1] These causes are of two sorts, according as they operate before birth to settle the sex of the offspring or during life to preserve members of one sex rather than of the other. Causes of the latter kind are by far the more obvious, and on the whole they appear in all communities, whether savage or civilised, to tell against the survival of men and in favour of the survival of women, that is, they tend to make the adult women outnumber the adult men. "The normal state of every population," says Darwin, "is an excess of women, at least in all civilised countries, chiefly owing to the greater mortality of the male sex during youth, and partly to accidents of all kinds later in life."[2] Thus in most European countries the females outnumber the males,[3] although the male births exceed the female births by five or six per cent.[4] The reasons why nevertheless women considerably preponderate over men are, as Darwin has pointed out, first, that far more male than female children die at birth or in the first few years of life, and, second, that in after-life men are exposed to more dangers and hardships than women.[5] Thus the greater mortality of the males during life more than counterbalances their numerical preponderance at birth, and leaves the adult women more numerous than the adult men. But if this is so in Europe, where life is most secure, it seems clear that in a state of savagery the mortality of the men is likely to be still greater through their exposure to the manifold risks of war and of the chase by land and sea. Amongst the American Indians, for example, females used to be more numerous than males on account of the destruction of the men in war. In some fighting tribes, such as the Blackfeet and Cheyennes, the women are said to have outnumbered the men by two to one.[6] Hence we may lay

[1] For a discussion of this subject, with the evidence, see E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), pp. 460 *sqq.* Compare Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, Second Edition (London, 1879), pp. 215 *sq.*, 242 *sqq.*

[2] Ch. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*, Second Edition, p. 257; compare *id.* p. 244.

[3] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, i. (Oxford, 1909) p. 479.

[4] Ch. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*,[2] p. 243; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 469.

[5] Ch. Darwin, *op. cit.* pp. 243 *sq.*, 257; E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 465.

[6] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human*

it down as probable that the causes which affect the proportion of the sexes during life are even more unfavourable to an excess of males over females among savage than among civilised peoples; and that accordingly they tell heavily against the theory which assumes a numerical superiority of men to women as the basis of exogamy.

However, it seems probable that the hardships of savage life favour the birth of males rather than of females.

It is otherwise, however, with the causes which determine the proportion of the sexes at birth. For Düsing "brings overwhelming evidence to show that while want and privation are constantly correlated with an increase of male births, prosperity is associated with an increase of female births; that while starvation and an unfavourable climatic condition are inimical to the development of females, a plentiful supply of nutritious food and specially favourable physical conditions result in the survival of an increased proportion of that sex."[1] If this conclusion is correct, it seems clear that the scarcity of food, the hardships and privations of all sorts to which savages are much more exposed than civilised men must tend to prevent the birth of females and to favour the birth of males. Now although we have little exact information as to the birth-rate in savage communities, there is a certain amount of evidence that in point of fact the men are more numerous than the women in some of the rudest tribes known to us. Thus we are told that among the Tasmanians the men greatly exceeded the women in number.[2] Similarly, among the Australian aborigines the males are said by several authorities to preponderate considerably over the females; one writer even puts the proportion at three to one.[3] However, one

Family, p. 477 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.).

[1] Walter Heape, M.A., F.R.S., "The Proportion of the Sexes produced by Whites and Coloured Peoples in Cuba," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, vol. 200, p. 275. Düsing's conclusions are on the whole accepted by Dr. E. Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, pp. 470 *sqq.*).

[2] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 462.

[3] J. Cassady, quoted by E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 424 ("the common proportion in our tribes being about three males to one female"); P. Beveridge, "Of the Aborigines inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1883*, xvii. (Sydney, 1884) p. 21; A. Oldfield, "The Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iii. (1865)

of these authorities tells us that this excess of males is not due to a paucity of female children born, for at birth the sexes are about equal; the cause, according to him, is the far greater mortality of females after puberty, which in turn he attributes in some measure to their too early maternity.[1] Statistics are said to shew an excess of male over female births among the Todas and the Maoris, and an excess of living males over living females among the Hawaiians.[2]

Apart from favourable or unfavourable conditions of life, some races seem to have a tendency to produce more males than females, and others to produce more females than males.

But there are grounds for thinking that the proportion of males and females at birth varies not merely with favourable or unfavourable conditions in respect to climate, food, and so forth, but that it is in some measure predetermined by a racial tendency to produce either an excess of males or an excess of females. We have seen that European races produce more males than females by about five or six per cent. In India women are distinctly more numerous among the black aborigines, the Dravidians, than among the castes of Aryan or semi-Aryan descent.[3] Similarly, in Cuba the black race tends to produce an excess of females and the white race an excess of males,[4] which seems to prove that the result is not determined merely by local and climatic conditions, but that a racial predisposition must also be reckoned with. In Africa also it appears that among the black races women considerably outnumber men, and that this disproportion is due in some measure to the greater number of female children which are born.[5] Mr. C. W. Hobley formerly estimated that in the Bantu tribes of

p. 250; C. Wilhelmi, quoted by R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 51.

[1] P. Beveridge, *l.c.*: "I have seen girls frequently, of not more than eleven or twelve years old, becoming mothers; and child-bearing at these tender years entails future infirmities, which materially assist in carrying them off ere they have well reached maturity."

[2] Chas. Darwin, *Descent of Man*, Second Edition (London, 1879), pp. 256-258.

[3] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire* (Oxford, 1909), i. 480. Compare the *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. Part i. (Calcutta, 1903) pp. 107 *sqq.*, where it is said (p. 107) that "the dearth of women is greatest in the north-west of India, and gradually becomes less noticeable towards the east and south, where it is eventually replaced by a deficiency of males. Women are also in a clear minority in the extreme east—in North Bengal, Assam, and Burma."

[4] W. Heape, M.A., F.R.S., "The Proportion of the Sexes produced by Whites and Coloured Peoples in Cuba," *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, Series B, vol. 200, pp. 318 *sq.*, 321.

[5] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 464, 468 *sq.*

Kavirondo there were three or four times as many women as men.[1] But he afterwards saw reason to reduce this estimate of their numerical superiority; indeed, statistics collected by him shewed a higher birth-rate for males among the Bantu tribes, but on the other hand a higher birth-rate for females among the Nilotic negroes of Kavirondo.[2] Among the Baganda the number of females born in former days is said to have exceeded the number of males born by at least two to one; but recent statistics shew that the numbers are now about equal.[3] If this apparent fall in the birth-rate of females could be proved, it would confirm the view that polygamy leads to the production of a greater number of female births;[4] since in the old days the Baganda were polygamous but have now under the influence of Christian teaching become monogamous.

On the whole we may conclude that the evidence as to the proportions of the sexes in savage tribes is too uncertain and conflicting to allow any far-reaching conclusions to be safely built upon it; and that accordingly the general scarcity of women in primitive communities, on which McLennan rested his whole theory of the origin of exogamy, has not been proved to exist.

The evidence as to the proportions of the sexes among savages is too conflicting to form the base of a theory.

Further, it may be doubted whether primitive groups are always, as McLennan assumed, mutually hostile and ready to carry off each other's women by force whenever an opportunity offers. Certainly this assumption does not hold good at present of some savages who rank low in the scale of culture. Thus in regard to the aborigines of Central Australia we are told that "the different local groups within the one tribe and the members of contiguous

McLennan assumed that primitive human groups are always mutually hostile; but this

[1] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda* (London, 1902), p. 18.

[2] C. W. Hobley, "Anthropological Studies in Kavirondo and Nandi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxiii. (1903) pp. 353 *sq.*

[3] I owe this information to the Rev. J. Roscoe. Speaking of the Baganda in the past, Messrs. Felkin and Wilson say: "Careful observation has established the fact that there are a good many more female births than male, and on taking the groups of children playing by the roadside there will always be found to be more girls than boys" (*Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, i. 150 *sq.*). These writers estimated the proportion of women to men in Uganda at three and a half to one; but this great numerical preponderance they traced in part to the influx of female captives taken in war.

[4] Ch. Darwin, *The Descent of Man*,[2] p. 245; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 470.

assumption does not hold good of some of the rudest savages at the present day.

tribes, where they are in contact, live for the most part in a state of mutual friendship. . . . To judge from ordinary accounts in popular works, one would imagine that the various tribes were in a state of constant hostility. Nothing could be further from the truth."[1] Again, no race of men lives under such hard conditions as the Eskimo and the Fuegians; nowhere is the struggle for existence sharper than in the frozen regions of the Arctic circle or on the desolate snow-beaten, rain-drenched coasts of Tierra del Fuego. Nowhere, accordingly, should we expect to find more fierce and relentless warfare waged than between neighbouring groups of the miserable inhabitants of these inhospitable lands. But on the contrary both of these races are reported to be ignorant of war.[2]

The pacific character of some low races seems to flow from the absence of sexual jealousy among them.

It is probably no mere accident that two of the most pacific races of the world, the Eskimo of the Arctic regions and the Todas of Southern India, neither of whom are known to have ever engaged in war, should at the same time be also two of the most immoral races on record, as we count immorality in sexual matters. The reason is simple. Both these tribes appear to be almost free from that passion of sexual jealousy which has always been one

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 31. Compare *id.*, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 32: "As a general rule the natives are kindly disposed to one another, that is of course within the limits of their own tribe, and, where two tribes come into contact with one another on the border land of their respective territories, there the same amicable feelings are maintained between the members of the two. There is no such thing as one tribe being in a constant state of enmity with one another so far as these central tribes are concerned." Elsewhere Prof. Baldwin Spencer observes: "Curiously enough, we find, judging by such accounts as we have of them, that there was much more hostility amongst the much-modified groups of tribes in the south-eastern part of the continent than there is to-day amongst the much more primitive tribes of the centre." See his Presidential Address, "Totemism in Australia," *Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dunedin, 1904, p. 419.

[2] As to the Eskimo see J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, p. 521. Speaking of the Yaghans of Tierra del Fuego Mr. Bridges, quoted by Dr. E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 466, says: "War was unknown, though fightings were frequent, but women took part in them as energetically as the men, and suffered equally with them—if anything more." Similarly the members of the French expedition to Cape Horn report that "there are never expeditions of war among the Yaghans, but they are very touchy and therefore inclined to quarrels and brawls." See *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn, 1882-1883*, vii., *Anthropologie, Ethnographie*, par R. Hyades, J. Deniker (Paris, 1891), p. 374.

of the most fruitful causes of dissension and quarrelling, of secret murder and open war among mankind. While we gratefully acknowledge the domestic happiness of which the love of the sexes is a principal source, we must not blind ourselves to the heavy price of sorrow, tears, and blood by which that domestic happiness has been bought.[1]

Thus neither a general preponderance of the female sex over the male nor a general state of hostility between neighbouring groups can be assumed to be characteristic of primitive human society. Now McLennan's theory of exogamy was based on these assumptions, and if they are unproved the theory must rank as an hypothesis insufficiently supported by the facts.

Thus McLennan's theory rests on unproved assumptions.

But even if for the sake of argument we suppose with McLennan that primitive savage communities regularly suffer from a scarcity of women and are constantly at war with each other, it may still be maintained that under these assumed conditions the rise of exogamy would be neither necessary nor probable. It would not be necessary; for if women were scarce in any group, some of the men of that group might prefer to do without wives rather than incur the risk of extermination by capturing them from their neighbours. In point of fact this is what happened among many tribes of the Australian aborigines, who, as we have seen, lived on friendly terms with each other. Speaking of

Even if primitive communities suffered from a scarcity of women, it does not follow that they would capture wives from their neighbours; some men might

[1] As to the Todas, their moral laxity and their freedom from jealousy, see above, vol. ii. pp. 256, 264 *sq.* As to the Eskimo it may suffice to quote a passage from Captain G. F. Lyon's *Private Journal* (London, 1824), pp. 353-355: "Even those men and women who seem most fond of each other, have no scruples on the score of mutual infidelity, and the husband is willingly a pander to his own shame. A woman details her intrigues to her husband with the most perfect unconcern, and will also answer to any charge of the kind made before a numerous assemblage of people. Husbands prostitute wives, brothers sisters, and parents daughters, without showing the least signs of shame. It is considered extremely friendly for two men to exchange wives for a day or two, and the request is sometimes made by the women themselves. . . . When parties are out fishing, such young men as are at home make no scruple of intriguing with others' wives, yet if the injured husband hears of it, it gives him little or no uneasiness. Divorced women and widows, and even young and well-looking girls, are equally liberal of their persons. There is one very remarkable fact attached to this general depravity, which is that we never heard of any quarrels arising respecting women, and this may be attributed to the men being totally unacquainted with such a passion as love, or its frequent attendant, jealousy."

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prefer to do without wives rather than incur the risks of war by abducting women from other tribes.

the natives who inhabited the great lacustrine and riverine depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling Rivers, a well-informed writer, who knew the aborigines before they were contaminated by contact with the whites, tells us that "fathers of grown-up sons frequently exchange their daughters for wives, not for their sons, however, but for themselves, even although they already have two or three. Cases of this kind are indeed very hard for the sons, but being aboriginal law they must bear it as best they can, and that too without murmur; and to make the matter harder still to bear, the elders of a tribe will not allow the young men to go off to other tribes to steal wives for themselves, as such measures would be the certain means of entailing endless feuds with their accompanying bloodshed, in the attempts that would surely be made with the view of recovering the abducted women."[1] To the same effect another writer on the Australian aborigines tells us that "at present, as the stealing of a woman from a neighbouring tribe would involve the whole tribe of the thief in war for his sole benefit, and as the possession of the woman would lead to constant attacks, tribes set themselves very generally against the practice."[2]

Or again, if women were scarce in a tribe, several men might share one wife between them. In this way polyandry might prevent the rise of exogamy.

Again, when women are scarce an obvious expedient for remedying the deficiency without incurring the enmity of neighbouring groups by the capture of wives is for several men to share one wife. Hence with tribes of pacific temper the natural outcome of a numerical preponderance of males is not exogamy but polyandry; indeed McLennan himself admitted that polyandry may thus retard or even prevent the establishment of exogamy.[3] In point of fact the Todas, who suffer from a deficiency of women, practise polyandry, but being an eminently peaceful people they seem never to have made war on their neighbours or to have captured women

[1] P. Beveridge, "Of the Aborigines inhabiting the Great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachlan, and Lower Darling," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1883*, xvii. (Sydney, 1884) p. 23.

[2] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 108.

[3] "Polyandry supplied a method whereby the want of balance might be the less felt, and may thus have retarded, and in some cases prevented, the establishment of exogamy" (J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, London, 1886, p. 124).

from them. The same observation applies to the Tibetans. The severe climate and barren nature of the country in which they live render a large increase of population undesirable if not impossible, and the prudent inhabitants have taken measures to prevent it by consigning many of their women to nunneries and by sharing the remainder among polyandrous groups of husbands. Apart from the scarcity of women thus artificially created it is said that in every Tibetan family there are more males than females.[1] Yet being a peaceful people they have never sought to furnish themselves with wives and booty by preying on their neighbours; with them, as with the Todas, a dearth of women has not given rise to a systematic capture of women and hence to exogamy. Indeed the evidence adduced by McLennan[2] seems quite inadequate to support his inference, that a systematic capture of women has been common among mankind and that it has exercised a momentous influence on the development of marriage. Even in Australia, the classical land of exogamy as well as of totemism, though the practice exists, it is a rare and exceptional mode of obtaining a wife.[3]

But the fatal objection to McLennan's theory is that, even if we grant him all his premises, the conclusion does not follow from it. Let us suppose that a tribe has many males and few females, that the tribesmen are of a warlike and predatory character and surrounded by hostile tribes, whom they systematically plunder of their women. Still this does not explain why, because their own women are few in number, the men should abdicate the use of them entirely. As a rule the scarcity of an article enhances its value; why should it be different with women? On McLennan's theory the scarcity of an article ought,

And if women are scarce in a tribe, is that any reason for refusing to make use of them? As a rule, the scarcity of an article enhances its value. Why should it be different with women?

[1] P. Du Halde, *The General History of China* (London, 1741), iv. 444.

[2] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 31-49. No doubt the evidence could be much enlarged. See, for example, E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 383 *sqq*. But even so it appears insufficient to justify McLennan's conclusion.

[3] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 108; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 104, 554 *sq*. The latter writers speak here of the Central tribes, but their observations probably apply to the Australian aborigines in general. For some cases of wife-capture in Australia, see above, vol. i. pp. 426 *sq*., 450, 475, 476, 541.

instead of enhancing its value, to deprive it of all value whatever and decide the people who suffer from the scarcity to make no use of what they have, but to beg, borrow, or steal the article from their neighbours. But it is absurd to suppose that men will renounce the use of the little they have got merely because it is little and because other people have more of it. In the British Islands at the present day the supply of home-grown corn and meat is totally inadequate to feed the existing population and immense quantities of foreign corn and meat have to be imported to make good the deficiency. But the importation of American wheat and Australian mutton shews no tendency to induce such a decided preference for these articles that the consumption of English wheat and English mutton by the English people is likely in time to be prohibited under pain of death. Yet that is what on McLennan's theory of exogamy we ought to expect. An hypothesis which logically leads to such a conclusion may safely be dismissed as unsatisfactory.

Thus McLennan's theory of the origin of exogamy assumes the existence of conditions which have not been proved to exist; and even if we grant all its assumptions it fails to give a reasonable and probable solution of the problem.

Dr. Westermarck's theory of the origin of exogamy.

An entirely different theory has been proposed by Dr. Edward Westermarck. He finds the origin of exogamy in an instinctive or innate aversion to marriage and sexual intercourse in general between persons who have lived closely together from early youth, and he supposes that since the persons who thus live closely together are commonly blood relations, the instinct in question finally took the form of an aversion to marriage with near kin. To quote his latest exposition of his view:

He holds that exogamy originated in a natural aversion to sexual intercourse between

"I pointed out that there is an innate aversion to sexual intercourse between persons living very closely together from early youth, and that, as such persons are in most cases related by blood, this feeling would naturally display itself in custom and law as a horror of intercourse between near kin. Indeed, an abundance of ethnographical

facts seem to indicate that it is not in the first place by the degrees of consanguinity, but by the close living together, that prohibitory laws against intermarriage are determined. Thus many peoples have a rule of 'exogamy' which does not depend on kinship at all, but on purely local considerations, all the members of a horde or village, though not related by blood, being forbidden to intermarry. The prohibited degrees are very differently defined in the customs or laws of different nations, and it appears that the extent to which relatives are prohibited from intermarrying is nearly connected with their close living together. Very often the prohibitions against incest are more or less one-sided, applying more extensively either to the relatives on the father's side or to those on the mother's, according as descent is reckoned through men or women. Now, since the line of descent is largely connected with local relationships, we may reasonably infer that the same local relationships exercise a considerable influence on the table of prohibited degrees. However, in a large number of cases prohibitions of intermarriage are only indirectly influenced by the close living together. Aversion to the intermarriage of persons who live in intimate connection with one another has called forth prohibitions of the intermarriage of relations; and, as kinship is traced by means of a system of names, the name comes to be considered identical with relationship. This system is necessarily one-sided. Though it will keep up the record of descent either on the male or female side, it cannot do both at once; and the line which has not been kept up by such means of record, even where it is recognised as a line of relationship, is naturally more or less neglected and soon forgotten. Hence the prohibited degrees frequently extend very far on the one side—to the whole clan—but not on the other. . . .

persons who have been brought up together, and that as such persons are commonly blood relations the instinct finally took the form of an aversion to marriage with near kin.

"The question arises:—How has this instinctive aversion to marriage and sexual intercourse in general between persons living closely together from early youth originated? I have suggested that it may be the result of natural selection. Darwin's careful studies of the effects of cross- and self-fertilisation in the vegetable kingdom, the consensus of opinion among eminent breeders, and experiments made

According to him, the instinct in question resulted from natural selection, since marriages

with near kin appear to be injurious to the species.

with rats, rabbits, and other animals, have proved that self-fertilisation of plants and close interbreeding of animals are more or less injurious to the species; and it seems highly probable that the evil chiefly results from the fact that the uniting sexual elements were not sufficiently differentiated. Now it is impossible to believe that a physiological law which holds good of the rest of the animal kingdom, as also of plants, would not apply to man as well. But it is difficult to adduce direct evidence for the evil effects of consanguineous marriages. We cannot expect very conspicuous results from other alliances than those between the nearest relatives—between brothers and sisters, parents and children,—and the injurious results even of such unions would not necessarily appear at once. The closest kind of intermarriage which we have opportunities of studying is that between first cousins. Unfortunately, the observations hitherto made on the subject are far from decisive. Yet it is noteworthy that of all the writers who have discussed it the majority, and certainly not the least able of them, have expressed their belief in marriages between first cousins being more or less unfavourable to the offspring; and no evidence which can stand the test of scientific investigation has hitherto been adduced against this view. Moreover, we have reason to believe that consanguineous marriages are much more injurious in savage regions, where the struggle for existence is often very severe, than they have proved to be in civilised societies, especially as it is among the well-to-do classes that such marriages occur most frequently.

Hence the common horror of incest is an effect of the survival of the fittest. Races which had the instinct survived, races which had it not perished

"Taking all these facts into consideration, I am inclined to think that consanguineous marriages are in some way or other detrimental to the species. And here I find a quite sufficient explanation of the horror of incest; not because man at an early stage recognised the injurious influence of close intermarriage, but because the law of natural selection must inevitably have operated. Among the ancestors of man, as among other animals, there was no doubt a time when blood-relationship was no bar to sexual intercourse. But variations, here as elsewhere, would naturally present themselves—we know how extremely liable to variations the

sexual instinct is; and those of our ancestors who avoided in-and-in breeding would survive, while the others would gradually decay and ultimately perish. Thus a sentiment would be developed which would be powerful enough, as a rule, to prevent injurious unions. Of course it would display itself, not as an innate aversion to sexual connections with near relatives as such, but as an aversion on the part of individuals to union with others with whom they lived; but these, as a matter of fact, would be blood-relations, so that the result would be the survival of the fittest. Whether man inherited this sentiment from the predecessors from whom he sprang, or whether it was developed after the evolution of distinctly human qualities we cannot know. It must have arisen at a stage when family ties became comparatively strong, and children remained with their parents until the age of puberty or even longer. And exogamy, resulting from a natural extension of this sentiment to a larger group, would arise when single families united into hordes." [1]

in the struggle for existence.

To complete this statement of Dr. Westermarck's theory it should be added that by marriage he means monogamy, that is, "a more or less durable connection between male and female, lasting beyond the mere act of propagation till after the birth of the offspring"; [2] that "monogamy prevailed almost exclusively among our earliest human ancestors"; [3] and that "in all probability there has been no stage of human development when marriage has not existed, and that the father has always been, as a rule, the protector of his

Dr. Westermarck holds that from the earliest times the normal type of human marriage has been the monogamous patriarchal family.

[1] Edward Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. (London, 1908), pp. 368-371. The theory is set forth in detail by the writer in his *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), ch. xv. pp. 320-355, 544-546. In his views on this subject Dr. Westermarck seems to agree substantially with Darwin, who in his book *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (Popular Edition, London, 1905), vol. ii. p. 128, writes as follows: "Although there seems to be no strong inherited feeling in mankind against incest, it seems possible that men during primeval times may have been more excited by strange females than by those with whom they habitually lived; in the same manner as, according to Mr. Cupples, male deerhounds are inclined towards strange females, while the females prefer dogs with whom they have associated. If any such feeling formerly existed in man, this would have led to a preference for marriages beyond the nearest kin, and might have been strengthened by the offspring of such marriages surviving in greater numbers, as analogy would lead us to believe would have occurred."

[2] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 19 *sq.*

[3] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 549.

family. Human marriage appears, then, to be an inheritance from some ape-like progenitor."[1]

Thus in Dr. Westermarck's opinion the monogamous patriarchal family has always been the normal type of married life from the very beginning of human history, though with the progress of civilisation the marriage bond has generally become more durable than it was amongst our earliest ancestors.[2]

The chief objection to Dr. Westermarck's theory is that it does not explain how an aversion to marriage between housemates changed into an aversion to marriage between blood-relations; in other words, how local exogamy changed into kinship exogamy.

The fundamental difficulty in the way of accepting Dr. Westermarck's theory appears to be analogous to the one which besets the theory of McLennan. Even if we grant all the premises, the conclusion does not seem to follow necessarily from them. Suppose we admit, as there seems to be some ground for doing, that there is a natural aversion to, or at least a want of inclination for, sexual intercourse between persons who have been brought up closely together from early youth, it remains difficult to understand how this could have been changed into something very different, namely an aversion to sexual intercourse with persons near of kin. This change from local exogamy to kinship exogamy is clearly the crucial point of the whole theory. Yet Dr. Westermarck does not attempt to demonstrate it. He takes it for granted as a transition that would be made naturally and perhaps unconsciously. Yet if the natural and instinctive aversion, as Dr. Westermarck admits, is not to marriage with persons of the same blood but only to marriage with persons who have long lived together in the same place, why should this aversion have so entirely changed its character that it is now directed far more strongly against consanguineous marriages than against marriages with housemates? If the root of the whole matter is a horror of marriage between persons who have always lived with each other, how comes it that at the present day that horror has been weakened into a mere general preference for marriage with persons whose

[1] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 50. Compare *id.* p. 538: "All the evidence we possess tends to show that among our earliest human ancestors the family, not the tribe, formed the nucleus of every social group, and, in many cases, was itself perhaps the only social group. . . . The tie that kept together husband and wife, parents and children, was, if not the only, at least the principal factor in the earliest forms of man's social life. Human marriage, in all probability, is an inheritance from some ape-like progenitor."

[2] E. Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 549.

attractions have not been blunted by long familiarity? For we may safely affirm that if the deep horror which Dr. Westermarck assumes as the ultimate origin of exogamy ever existed, it no longer exists at the present day. Neither sentiment nor law forbids the marriage of persons who have been brought up from childhood together, and such marriages are probably not uncommon. Why then should the parent sentiment have grown so feeble while its bastard offspring has grown so strong? Why should the marriage of a brother with a sister, or of a mother with a son, excite the deepest detestation, furnish the theme for the most moving tragedy, and be most sternly forbidden by the law, while the origin of it all, the marriage between housemates, should excite at most a mild surprise too slight probably to suggest even a subject for a farce, and should be as legitimate in the eye of the law among all civilised nations as any other marriage? This Dr. Westermarck has yet to explain, and till he does so satisfactorily we must pronounce that the chain of reasoning by which he supports his theory breaks down entirely at the crucial point.

Moreover, if exogamy resulted from a natural instinct, what need was there to reinforce that instinct by legal pains and penalties?

Quite apart from this fundamental difficulty, it is not easy to see why any deep human instinct should need to be reinforced by law. There is no law commanding men to eat and drink or forbidding them to put their hands in the fire. Men eat and drink and keep their hands out of the fire instinctively for fear of natural not legal penalties, which would be entailed by violence done to these instincts. The law only forbids men to do what their instincts incline them to do; what nature itself prohibits and punishes, it would be superfluous for the law to prohibit and punish. Accordingly we may always safely assume that crimes forbidden by law are crimes which many men have a natural propensity to commit. If there was no such propensity there would be no such crimes, and if no such crimes were committed what need to forbid them? Instead of assuming, therefore, from the legal prohibition of incest that there is a natural aversion to incest, we ought rather to assume that there is a natural instinct in favour of it, and that if the law represses it, as it represses other natural instincts, it does so because civilised men have come to the conclusion that

the satisfaction of these natural instincts is detrimental to the general interests of society.

Dr. Westermarck's theory does not sufficiently take account of the factors of intelligence, deliberation, and will.

Lastly it may be observed that Dr. Westermarck's theory of the origin of exogamy appears to suffer from a weakness which has of late years vitiated other speculations as to the growth of human institutions. It attempts to explain that growth too exclusively from physical and biological causes without taking into account the factors of intelligence, deliberation, and will. It is too much under the influence of Darwin, or rather it has extended Darwin's methods to subjects which only partially admit of such treatment. Because, in treating of the physical evolution of man's body and his place in the animal creation, Darwin rightly reckoned only with physical and biological causes, it has seemed to some enquirers into the history of man's social evolution that they will best follow his principles and proceed most scientifically if they also reckon with nothing else. They forget the part that human thought and will have played in moulding human destiny. They would write the history of man without taking into account the things that make him a man and discriminate him from the lower animals. To do this is, to adopt a common comparison, to write the play of *Hamlet* without the Prince of Denmark. It is to attempt the solution of a complex problem while ignoring the principal factor which ought to enter into the calculations. It is, as I have already said, not science but a bastard imitation of it.[1] For true science reckons with all the elements of the problem which it sets itself to solve, and it remembers that these elements may differ widely with the particular nature of the subject under investigation. It does not insist on reducing the heterogeneous at all costs to the homogeneous, the multiformity of fact to the uniformity of theory. It is cautious of transferring to one study the principles and methods which are appropriate to another. In particular the science which deals with human society will not, if it is truly scientific, omit to reckon with the qualities which distinguish man from the beasts.

Besides the particular difficulties which encumber Dr.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 281.

Westermarck's theory of exogamy his general view of the history of marriage is open to very serious objections. If the normal human family from the earliest times down to the present day has been the monogamous patriarchal family with the father as guardian of his own children, how comes it that throughout a large part of mankind, especially among savages, descent has been traced through the mother and not through the father; that property, where it exists, has been inherited from her and not from him; and that the guardian of the children has not been their father but their mother's brother? To these questions Dr. Westermarck makes no satisfactory answer,[1] and I do not see how on his hypothesis a satisfactory answer is possible. The system of mother-kin and the position of the mother's brother in savage and barbarous society are formidable obstacles to a theory which represents patriarchal monogamy as the primitive and generally persistent form of the family for the whole human race. Further, it is to be remembered that Dr. Westermarck's theory was formulated at a time when it was still possible to affirm that "there does not seem to be a single people which has not made the discovery of father-hood."[2] Now, however, we know that many tribes of Central and Northern Australia, who practise exogamy in its most rigid form, are still wholly ignorant of the fact of physical paternity;[3] from which we may safely infer that physical paternity was equally unknown to the still more primitive savages with whom the system of exogamy originated. Such ignorance is not indeed fatal to the mere existence of a monogamous family of the type supposed by Dr. Westermarck; for the connubial relations of the husband to his wife need not be affected by it, and even the social bond which unites him to his children is not necessarily dissolved because he happens to be unaware of the bodily relation in which he stands to them. But surely the social tie must at least be sensibly weakened when its physical basis is unknown.

Further, his theory of a primitive patriarchal family fails to explain the custom of mother-kin and the position of the maternal uncle in early society.

[1] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Race*, pp. 41, 539 *sq.*

[2] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), p. 105.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 93 *sq.*, 155 *sqq.*, 188-193, 576 *sqq.*

Prof. E. Durkheim's theory of exogamy. He holds that exogamy originated in a religious respect for the blood of the totemic clan, especially for the menstruous blood of women, which prevents men from having any sexual relations with them.

A theory of exogamy entirely different from the preceding theories has been put forward by Professor Emile Durkheim. He would derive exogamy from a religious sentiment based on certain occult or magical virtues which the savage attributes to blood, above all to the menstruous blood of women.[1] This religious reverence or awe for blood is in its turn traced by Professor Durkheim to totemism, which is, on his view, the ultimate source of exogamy.[2] According to him, the totem is not only the ancestor but the god of every true totemic clan; all the members of the clan are derived from him and share his divine substance. "The totemic being is immanent in the clan, he is incarnate in every individual, and it is in the blood that he resides. He is himself the blood. But while he is an ancestor, he is also a god; born the protector of the group, he is the object of a veritable worship; he is the centre of the religion peculiar to the clan. It is on him that depend the destinies of individuals as well as of the whole. Consequently there is a god in each individual organism (for he is wholly and entirely in each), and it is in the blood that the god resides; from which it follows that the blood is a thing divine. When it flows, it is the god who is spilled. . . . The religious respect which it inspires forbids all idea of contact, and, since woman passes, so to say, a part of her life in blood, the same feeling extends to her, stamps her with its impress, and isolates her."[3] But a totem is only sacred to the members of one totemic clan; the prohibitions which hedge it round are observed by them

[1] E. Durkheim, "La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines," *L'Année sociologique*, i. (Paris, 1898) pp. 1-70. See particularly p. 40, "*la nature religieuse des sentiments qui sont à la base de l'exogamie*"; also p. 51, "*les vertus magiques attribuées au sang expliquent l'exogamie*"; also p. 65, "*les préjugés relatifs au sang eurent amené les hommes à s'interdire toute union entre parents*"; also p. 47, "*seule, quelque vertu occulte, attribuée à l'organisme féminin en général, peut avoir déterminé cette mise en quarantaine réciproque. Un premier fait est certain: c'est que tout ce système de prohibitions doit tenir étroitement aux idées que le primitif se fait de la menstruation et du sang menstruel.*"

[2] E. Durkheim, *op. cit.* p. 51, "*Mais si les vertus magiques attribuées au sang expliquent l'exogamie, d'où viennent elles-mêmes? Qu'est-ce qui a pu déterminer les sociétés primitives à prêter au liquide sanguin de si étranges propriétés? La réponse à cette question se trouve dans le principe même sur lequel repose tout le système religieux dont l'exogamie dépend, à savoir le totémisme.*"

[3] E. Durkheim, *op. cit.* pp. 52 *sq.*

alone. Other people may violate these prohibitions with impunity, since the totem is not their totem: to them there is nothing divine in it, they may therefore deal with it as they please. That is why, according to Professor Durkheim, a man is forbidden to eat his own totem and to marry a woman of his own totemic clan; the god of the clan is in her, especially in her blood; hence no man of the clan may come into profane contact with a woman of the clan; above all, he may not enter into sexual relations with her, because in doing so he would be trespassing on the very spot where the divine manifestations of the sacred blood periodically occur. But on the other hand a man is free to marry or have intercourse with a woman of any totem other than his own, since her god is not his god, and he is therefore not bound to respect the divine life which resides in her blood.[1]

This theory of exogamy rests on an erroneous conception of totemism as a mystical religion

Thus Professor Durkheim finds the origin of exogamy in totemism, which he regards as a religion or worship of the totem. I have already pointed out that such a conception of totemism rests on a fundamental misapprehension of the nature of the institution as it exists in its purity, particularly among the Australian aborigines;[2] and I am the more concerned to emphasise the mistake because I formerly committed it myself and have drawn Professor Durkheim after me astray.[3] Since my original treatise on totemism, to which Professor Durkheim refers for proof of the worship of the totem, was published, the evidence as to the system has been greatly enlarged, especially by the researches of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, and when we consider all the facts and allow for the inevitable haziness and confusion of savage thought on the subject, the conclusion to which the facts point is that the relation between a man and his totem is one of simple friendly equality and brotherhood, and by no means one of religious adoration of a deity mysteriously incarnate not only in the whole totemic species of animals or plants, but also in the flesh and above

[1] E. Durkheim, "La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines," *L'Année sociologique*, i. (Paris, 1898) pp. 50, 53 *sq.*

[2] See above, pp. 4-6, 27 *sq.*

[3] After giving his account of the religion of the totem, which I have quoted (above, p. 100), Prof. Durkheim refers his readers for evidence to my original treatise *Totemism*, which is reprinted in the first volume of this work.

all in the blood of every man, woman, and child of the clan. A mystical religion of this abstract sort might be appropriate enough to sects like the Gnostics, the heirs of an ancient civilisation and of a long train of subtle philosophies; it is wholly foreign and indeed incomprehensible to the simple, concrete modes of thought of a savage, and to attribute it to the extremely rude savages with whom the system of exogamy must unquestionably have originated is to commit the serious mistake of interpreting primitive thought in terms of advanced thought; it is to invert the order of development. A theory of exogamy which rests on such a basis is wholly untenable.

In particular, Prof. Durkheim exaggerates the importance of menstruation, which appears to have nothing to do with exogamy.

Apart from the fundamental error which vitiates Professor Durkheim's ingenious speculations on this subject he has, as it seems to me, fallen into others hardly less serious. The importance which he assigns to menstruation as a principal factor in determining exogamy appears altogether exaggerated. Indeed it is very hard to see how the awe or horror which savages unquestionably entertain for menstruous blood[1] can have had anything whatever to do with exogamy. The essence of exogamy is a discrimination between women who are marriageable and women who are not marriageable; but all women menstruate; how then can the fact of menstruation serve to discriminate marriageable from non-marriageable women, in other words, how can it explain exogamy? We cannot explain a specific difference by means of a generic attribute: menstruation is a generic attribute of all women; how then can it be invoked to explain the specific difference which exogamy makes between marriageable and non-marriageable women? If the awe or horror of menstruous blood is a reason for avoiding marriage with any woman, it is a reason for avoiding marriage with all women, since all women menstruate. The logical conclusion from such premises is not exogamy but

[1] I am not likely to under-estimate the force and influence of this horror, as I was, I believe, among the first to draw attention to it, and to illustrate it by a large array of facts drawn from many parts of the world (*The Golden Bough*, First Edition, 1890, vol. i. pp. 169 *sq.*, vol. ii. pp. 225-242). Indeed, just as in the case of the supposed totemic religion, Professor Durkheim himself appeals to my evidence on the subject of menstruation (E. Durkheim, *op. cit.* p. 42), but I cannot think him judicious in the inferences he has drawn from it.

celibacy. In short, menstruation appears to be wholly irrelevant to the question of exogamy.[1]

Further, Prof. Durkheim confuses the exogamous class with the totemic clan, which is a totally different social organisation.

Again, Professor Durkheim errs in confusing exogamous classes or phratries with totemic clans; he is of opinion that the exogamous class or phratry is nothing but an original or primary totemic clan which has become subdivided into a number of secondary totemic clans.[2] It is the more incumbent on me to correct this confusion because I fear I am again at least partly responsible for it. In my original treatise, *Totemism*, I maintained the view of exogamous classes or phratries which was adopted some ten years later by Professor Durkheim. But the new evidence given to the world by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in the year after Professor Durkheim had published his theory induced me to abandon that view; it convinced me that, so far as Australia at least is concerned, exogamous classes or phratries are a totally different social organisation from totemic clans, that they are later in origin than the totemic clans, and have been superposed upon them; and that we shall never understand the relation of totemism to exogamy so long as we identify these two disparate institutions, the totemic clan and the exogamous class, in other words, so long as we suppose that totemic clans have been from the outset exogamous.[3] As Professor Durkheim adheres to the old view after the publication of the new evidence,[4] I am compelled to dissent from him on this as well as on the other points which I have indicated.

L. H. Morgan's theory of the origin of exogamy.

A theory of the origin of exogamy different from all the preceding theories was suggested by the eminent American ethnologist, L. H. Morgan, to whom we owe the discovery of

[1] The same objection does not lie against the theory that exogamy was based on an aversion to shedding the blood of a woman of the same clan at defloration. See S. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) p. 166. But though such an aversion might be a good reason for not deflowering a woman, it would be no reason for refusing to marry her afterwards. We know that many peoples have been in the habit of engaging strangers to deflower their wives. See the references in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, p. 52, note [2].

[2] E. Durkheim, "La Prohibition de l'inceste et ses origines," *L'Année sociologique*, i. (Paris, 1898) pp. 5 *sqq.*

[3] See above, pp. 8-10, and above, vol. i. pp. 162 *sq.*, 257 *sqq.*

[4] E. Durkheim, "Sur le totémisme," *L'Année sociologique*, v. (Paris, 1902) pp. 90 *sqq.*

the classificatory system of relationship. Unlike the other writers, whose hypotheses have been set forth, Morgan lived for many years on intimate terms with savages who still practised both totemism and exogamy; and in approaching the problem his practical familiarity with exogamous communities gave him a decided advantage over enquirers who had no such first-hand knowledge of the institution they discussed. It is significant that while Morgan's conclusions have been commonly rejected by anthropologists of the study, they have been accepted by men who have personally investigated totemism and exogamy among those tribes in which the two institutions still exist in the greatest perfection. No men have done more to advance our knowledge of exogamy than Messrs. Howitt, Fison, Spencer, and Gillen have done by their researches among the Australian aborigines; and their agreement with Morgan's opinion on the origin of the institution furnishes at least a certain presumption in favour of its truth.

Morgan held that exogamy was introduced to prevent the marriage or cohabitation of blood relations, especially of brothers with sisters, which had been common

Morgan held that sexual promiscuity prevailed universally at a very early period of human history, and that exogamy was instituted to prevent the marriage or cohabitation of blood relations, especially of brothers with sisters, which had been common under the preceding conditions.[1] "It is explainable," he says, "and only explainable in its origin, as a reformatory movement to break up the intermarriage of blood relatives, and particularly of brothers and sisters, by compelling them to marry out of the tribe who were constituted such as a band of consanguinei. It will be seen at once that with the prohibition of intermarriage in the tribe this result was finally and permanently effected. By this organization the cohabitation of brothers and sisters

[1] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*, pp. 484 *sq.*, 487-490 (*Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. xvii.); *id.*, *Ancient Society* (London, 1877), pp. 58, 425, 426, 498-503. Morgan did not use the word exogamy, but described the institution in his earlier work by the phrase "tribal organization," and in his later work by the phrase "gentile organization." Both these expressions are exceedingly vague and unsatisfactory, and it is much to be regretted that Morgan rejected the perfectly appropriate and indeed necessary term exogamy (*Ancient Society*, pp. 511 *sqq.*). Morgan was often unfortunate in his choice of words, and his inappropriate and pedantic terminology has probably done much to repel readers from a subject which is sufficiently unattractive in itself without the aid of gratuitous disfigurements.

was permanently abolished, since they were necessarily of the same tribe, whether descent was in the male or the female line. . . . It struck at the roots of promiscuous intercourse by abolishing its worst features, and thus became a powerful movement towards the ultimate realization of marriage between single pairs, and the true family state." [1]

in a preceding state of sexual promiscuity.

This view furnishes, I believe, the true key to the whole system of exogamy. It was suggested to Morgan by his study of the classificatory system of relationship in its various forms, particularly by a comparison of the Polynesian form with the Asiatic and American forms.[2] It is true that he appears to have erred in treating the Polynesian form as primitive and as evidence of the former cohabitation of brothers with sisters, whereas there are grounds for thinking that the Polynesian form is on the contrary decadent, and that the former cohabitation of brothers with sisters cannot be inferred from it.[3] But while his theory has certainly been weakened at an important point by the correction of this error, it has on the other hand been greatly strengthened by the additional knowledge which we have since acquired of the social organisation of the Australian aborigines. These very primitive savages have carried out the principle of exogamy with a practical ingenuity and a logical thoroughness and precision such as no other known race of men exhibit in their marriage system; and accordingly a study of their matrimonial institutions, which have been accurately described by highly competent observers, affords a better insight into the meaning of exogamy than can be obtained elsewhere. It is accordingly to Australia that we must look for a solution of the enigma of exogamy as well as of totemism.

This view is probably correct, and has been strongly confirmed by our new knowledge of the exogamous systems of the Australian aborigines.

Full details as to the Australian systems of marriage have already been laid before the reader, and I have exhibited their general principles in outline so as to bring out clearly their aim and purpose.[4] We have seen that these marriage systems fall into a series of varying complexity

The two-class, four-class, and eight-class systems of the

[1] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 484 *sq.*

[2] Malayan, Turanian, and Ganowanian are the terms which Morgan uses instead of Polynesian, Asiatic, and American.

[3] See above, vol. ii. pp. 169-172.

[4] See vol. i. pp. 271-288, 399-402, 445 *sq.*

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Australian aborigines appear to have originated in a series of successive bisections of the community for the purpose of preventing the marriage of near kin.

from the two-class system, which is the simplest, to the eight-class system, which is the most complex, with a four-class system occupying an intermediate position between the two extremes. All three systems—the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system—are compatible either with male or with female descent; and in fact the two-class system and the four-class system are actually found sometimes with male and sometimes with female descent, while on the other hand the eight-class system has hitherto been discovered with male descent only. Further, I pointed out that these three systems appear to have been produced by a series of successive bisections of the community, the two-class system resulting from the first bisection, the four-class system resulting from the second bisection, and the eight-class system resulting from the third bisection. Further, we saw that the effect of these successive bisections of the community into exogamous classes, with their characteristic rules of descent, was to bar the marriage of persons whom the natives regard as too near of kin, each new bisection striking out a fresh list of kinsfolk from the number of those with whom marriage might be lawfully contracted; and as the effect produced by these means is in accordance with the deeply-rooted opinions and feelings of the natives on the subject of marriage, we appear to be justified in inferring that each successive bisection of the community was deliberately instituted for the purpose of preventing the marriage of near kin. In no other way does it seem possible to explain in all its details a system at once so complex and so regular. It is hardly too much to affirm that no other human institution bears the impress of deliberate design stamped on it more clearly than the exogamous classes of the Australian aborigines. To suppose that they have originated through a series of undesigned coincidences, and that they only subserve by accident the purpose which they actually fulfil and which is cordially approved of by the natives themselves, is to tax our credulity almost as heavily as it would be to suppose that the complex machinery of a watch has come together without human design by a mere fortuitous concourse of atoms, and that the purpose which it serves of

marking time on the dial, and for the sake of which the owner of the watch carries it about with him, is simply an accidental result of its atomic configuration. The attempt in the name of science to eliminate human will and purpose from the history of early human institutions fails disastrously when the attempt is made upon the marriage system of the Australian aborigines.[1]

Effects of the two-class, four-class, and eight-class systems.

We have seen, first, that the effect of the two-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters in every case, but not in all cases the marriage of parents with children, nor the marriage of certain first cousins, namely, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively; second, that the effect of the four-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters and of parents with children in every case, but not the marriage of first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively; thirdly, that the effect of the eight-class system is to bar the marriage of brothers with sisters, of parents with children, and of first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively.[2]

Thus the exogamous systems of the Australians seem to have originated in an attempt to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters. The aversion to these and similar marriages of near kin must have existed

Hence if we are right in assuming that these three marriage systems were instituted successively and in this order for the purpose of effecting just what they do effect, it follows that the two-class system was instituted to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters; that the four-class system was instituted to prevent the marriage of parents with children; and that the eight-class system was instituted to prevent the marriage of certain first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, the marriage of all other first cousins (the children of two brothers or of two sisters) having been already prevented by the institution of the two-class system.[3] If this inference is correct, we see that in Australia exogamy originated, just as Morgan supposed, in an attempt to prevent the marriage of brothers with sisters, and that the prohibitions of marriage with

[1] We have seen (vol. i. p. 514) that as a result of a lifetime of observation and reflection the shrewd and cautious Dr. A. W. Howitt firmly believed in the deliberate institution of the Australian marriage system; and the belief is shared by Professor Baldwin Spencer. See his Presidential Address, "Totemism in Australia," *Transactions of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, Dunedin, 1904, pp. 419 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 274-279.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 181.

before it was embodied in an exogamous rule.

parents and with certain first cousins followed later. Thus the primary prohibition is that of marriage between brothers and sisters and not, as might perhaps have been expected, between parents and children. From this it does not necessarily follow that the Australian aborigines entertain a deeper horror of incest between brothers and sisters than of incest between parents and children. All that we can fairly infer is that before the two-class system was instituted incest between brothers and sisters had been commoner than incest between parents and children, and that accordingly the first necessity was to prevent it. The aversion to incest between parents and children appears to be universal among the Australian aborigines, as well among tribes with two classes as among tribes with four classes, although the two-class system itself is not a bar to certain cases of that incest. Thus we perceive, what it is important to bear steadily in mind, that the dislike of certain marriages must always have existed in the minds of the people, or at least in the minds of their leaders, before that dislike, so to say, received legal sanction by being embodied in an exogamous rule. In democratic societies, like those of the Australian savages, law only gives practical effect to thoughts that have been long simmering in the minds of many. This is well exemplified in the prohibition of marriage between certain first cousins as well as in the prohibition of marriage between parents and children. For many Australian tribes dislike and prohibit all marriages between first cousins,[1] even though they have not incorporated that dislike and prohibition in their exogamous organisation by adopting the eight-class system, which effectually prevents all such marriages.

That aversion shews itself in the widespread customs of avoidance which are observed by certain marriageable

The aversion, whether instinctive or acquired, to the forbidden marriages shews itself markedly in the customs of social avoidance which in many savage communities persons who stand in the prohibited degrees of kinship or affinity observe towards each other; for the only reasonable explanation of such customs, which we have now traced throughout most of the exogamous and totemic tribes of the world,[2] is that they are precautions against unions which the

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 346, 439, 449 *sq.*, 459, 474 *sq.*, 483.

[2] See the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Avoidance."

people regard as incestuous. In some Australian tribes this custom of avoidance is observed between brothers and sisters,[1] although brothers and sisters are universally barred to each other in marriage by all the exogamous systems, the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system alike. No doubt it is possible theoretically to explain this avoidance as merely an effect of the exogamous prohibition. But this explanation becomes improbable when we observe that similar customs of mutual avoidance are frequently observed towards each other by persons who are not barred to each other by the exogamous rules of the classes. For example, the custom that a man must avoid his wife's mother is observed in Australia by tribes which have female descent[2] as well as by tribes which have male descent;[3] yet in tribes which have two classes with female descent a woman always belongs to the same exogamous class as her daughter, and is therefore theoretically marriageable with her daughter's husband. Similarly with first cousins, the children of a brother and a sister respectively, they are sometimes bound to avoid each other even although the exogamous system of the tribe interposes no barrier to their union.[4] Hence it is a legitimate inference that in all such customs of mutual avoidance between persons who are sexually marriageable, but socially unmarriageable, with each other, we see rather the cause than the effect of exogamy, the germ of the institution rather than its fruit. That germ, if I am right, is a feeling of dread or aversion to sexual union with certain persons, a feeling which has found legal or rather customary expression in the exogamous prohibitions. The remarkable fact that the custom of mutual avoidance is often observed between adult brothers and sisters and between parents and their adult children[5] seems

persons towards each other.

Such avoidances seem to be rather the cause than the effect of exogamy, since they are sometimes observed by persons who are not barred to each other by the exogamous rule.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 542, 565 *sq.* Compare E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 109. "The laws with respect to women are very stringent. A woman in most tribes, for instance, is not allowed to converse or have any relations whatever with any adult male, save her husband. Even with a grown-up brother she is almost forbidden to exchange a word."

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 395, 404 *sq.*, 416 *sq.*, 541, 565.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 440, 451.

[4] This is the case in Central New Ireland and Uganda. See above, vol. ii. pp. 130 *sq.*, 508. Compare above, vol. ii. pp. 629, 637 *sq.*

[5] For instances of the mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters, see the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Avoid-

to tell strongly against the view of Dr. Westermarck, that sexual desire is not naturally excited between persons who have long lived together; for no classes of persons usually live longer together than brothers with their sisters and parents with their children; none, therefore, should be more perfectly exempt from the temptation to incest, none should be freer in their social intercourse with each other than brothers with sisters and parents with children. That freedom indeed exists among all civilised nations, but it does not exist among all savages, and the difference in this respect between the liberty granted to the nearest relations by civilisation and the restrictions imposed on them by savagery certainly suggests that the impulse to incest, which is almost extinct in a higher state of society, is so far from being inoperative in a lower state of society that very stringent precautions are needed to repress it.

The rise of exogamy was probably preceded by a period of sexual promiscuity.

Thus the exogamous system of the Australian aborigines, forming a graduated series of restrictions on marriage which increase progressively with the complexity of the system as it advances from two through four to eight classes, appears to have been deliberately devised for the purpose of preventing sexual unions which the natives regarded as incestuous. The natural and almost inevitable inference is that before the first bisection of a community into two exogamous classes such incestuous unions between persons near of kin, especially between blood brothers and sisters, were common; in short, that at some period before the rise of exogamy barriers between the sexes did not exist, or in other words there was sexual promiscuity. Under the influence of exogamy, which in one form or another is and probably has been for ages dominant in Australia, the age of sexual promiscuity belongs to a more or less distant past, but clear traces of it survive in the right of intercourse which in many

ance." For instances of the mutual avoidance of father and daughter, see above, vol. ii. pp. 189, 424. For instances of the mutual avoidance of mother and son, see above, vol. ii. pp. 77, 78, 189, 638. To the instances cited of mutual avoidance between parents and their adult children may be added the case of the Veddas of Ceylon, among whom "a father will not see his daughter after she has attained the age of puberty, and a mother will not see her son after he has grown a beard." See "On the Weddas, by a Tamil native of Ceylon," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iii. (1865) p. 71.

Australian tribes the men exercise over unmarried girls before these are handed over to their husbands.[1] That the licence granted to men on these occasions is no mere outburst of savage lust but a relic of an ancient custom is strongly suggested by the methodical way in which the right is exercised by certain, not all, of the men of the tribe, who take their turn in a prescribed and strictly regulated order. Thus even these customs are by no means cases of absolutely unrestricted promiscuity, but taken together with the converging evidence of the series of exogamous classes they point decidedly to the former prevalence of far looser relations between the sexes than are now to be found among any of the Australian aborigines.

But it must always be borne in mind than in postulating sexual promiscuity, or something like it, as the starting-point of the present Australian marriage system we affirm nothing as to the absolutely primitive relations of the sexes among mankind. All that we can say is that the existing marriage customs of the Australian aborigines appear to have sprung from an immediately preceding stage of social evolution in which marriage, understood as a lasting union between single pairs, was either unknown or rare and exceptional, and in which even the nearest relations were allowed to cohabit with each other. But as I have already pointed out,[2] though the Australian savages are primitive in a relative sense by comparison with ourselves, they are almost certainly very far indeed from being primitive in the absolute sense of the word; on the contrary, there is every reason to think that by comparison with truly primaeval man they have made immense progress in intelligence, morality, and the arts of life. Hence even if it could be proved that before they attained to their present level of culture they had passed through a lower stage in which marriage as we understand it hardly existed, we should have no right to infer that their still more remote ancestors had continued in a state of sexual promiscuity ever since man became man by a gradual evolution from a lower form of animal life. It is no doubt interesting to speculate on what may have been the relations

But though sexual promiscuity seems to have preceded exogamy, it need not have been characteristic of absolutely primitive man.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 311-313, 419, 499, 545.

[2] See above, p. 17, and above, vol. i. pp. 342 *sq.*

of the human sexes to each other from the earliest times down to the period when savage man emerges on the stage of history; but such speculations are apparently destined to remain speculations for ever, incapable of demonstration or even of being raised to a high degree of probability.

The three typical marriage systems of the Australian aborigines considered as a series of reformations designed to remedy sexual promiscuity.

From the darkness of the absolutely unknown and the quicksands of the purely conjectural we emerge to something like daylight and firm ground when we reach the well-defined exogamous system of the Australian aborigines in its three forms of the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system. Let us accordingly consider these systems as a series of reformations designed successively to remedy a previous state of more or less unrestricted sexual promiscuity; and let us see in detail how the actual rules of the three systems square with this hypothesis. The attempt may at least help to clarify our ideas on a somewhat abstruse subject, and to illustrate the mode in which a system of exogamy leads to its regular attendant, the classificatory system of relationship.

We will take up the three typical marriage systems of the Australian aborigines, the two-class system, the four-class system, and the eight-class system, in this order, beginning with the simplest and ending with the most complex.

It would seem that the division of a community into two exogamous classes was devised as a means of enabling people the more easily to avoid those marriages to which a strong aversion had already grown up in the community, especially the marriages of brothers

We start then by hypothesis with a state of society in which men and women had been allowed freely to cohabit with each other, but in which nevertheless in the minds of many, and especially of the most intelligent members of the community, there had, for some reason unknown to us, been long growing up a strong aversion to consanguineous unions, particularly to the cohabitation of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons. For we may safely assume that the recognition of these simplest and most obvious relationships preceded the rise of exogamy in any form. On the other hand, there can at the outset have been no scruple felt on the ground of consanguinity to the cohabitation of a father with his daughter, if we are right in assuming that when exogamy was instituted the physical relationship of fatherhood had not yet been recognised. Accordingly the aim of the more thoughtful part of the social group, probably consisting chiefly of the older men, was to devise some means of putting a stop to those sexual unions which

had come to be regarded as evil and detrimental to the community, especially the unions of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons. To us the obvious thing might appear to be simply to prohibit the unions in question. But for some reasons which we can only conjecture, there would seem to have been difficulties in the way of taking this course. With the undeveloped intelligence of the low savages, with whom exogamy must certainly have originated, it may well have been difficult for everybody to remember his individual relationships to everybody else, and accordingly to know whether he might or might not cohabit with any particular woman with whom he might chance to be thrown into contact; for where the sexual relations were of so loose, vague, and temporary a character, it is likely enough that in later life mothers and sons, brothers and sisters would often drift apart and fail to remember or recognise each other when they met. To obviate the difficulty and to prevent the danger of incest, whether accidental or otherwise, it may accordingly have occurred to some primitive sages, of whom there must always have been at least a few, that instead of asking everybody to carry about in his head his own particular family tree, to be produced and consulted at sight whenever he fell in with an attractive woman, it would be much simpler to divide the whole community, probably a very small one, into two groups and two only, and to say that everybody in the one group might cohabit with everybody in the other group but with nobody in his own. And to prevent the consanguineous unions which had probably been the most frequent and were now the most disapproved of, to wit, the cohabitation of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons, it was only necessary to enact that a mother with her children should always be arranged together in one group. We may suppose, then, that the proposal to divide the community into two exogamous and intermarrying groups, with each mother and her children arranged together in one group, was approved by the community and put into practice. Henceforth the question with whom a man might cohabit and with whom he might not was greatly simplified. He had only to ascertain from any particular woman whether she belonged to his group or to the other group, and his

with sisters and of mothers with sons.

course was clear. The mental relief thus afforded to the scrupulous and superstitious but dull-witted savage was probably very considerable.

The two-class system with its classificatory relationships and rules of marriage.

Let us suppose that the two newly-created exogamous groups were called A and B, and let us now see the effects of this simplest of all forms of exogamy, the division of a community into two exogamous groups or classes with a rule that any man in one class may cohabit with any woman in the other class but with no woman in his own. As the children are, on our hypothesis, arranged in the same class with their mothers, the system which we are about to examine is a two-class system with female descent. We will first consider the relations of a man A to all the women of the community, and for the sake of simplicity we will suppose that there are only three generations alive, namely, A's own generation, the generation above him, and the generation below him. Then we obtain the following group or classificatory relationships and the following rules of marriage:—

The classificatory relationships of an A man to the A women.

(*a*) All the A women in the generation above the man A are his group mothers or his mother's sisters, and one of them is his actual mother, but he calls them all his mothers, not because he thinks he was born of them all, but because they are collectively the mothers of all the men and women of his class and generation. All the A women in his own generation are his sisters or cousins, the daughters either of his mother's sisters (for his mother's sisters are A and their daughters are A) or of his father's brothers (for his father's brothers are B and their children are A); but he calls them all his sisters. All the A women in the generation below his own are his sisters' daughters (for his sisters are A and their daughters are A) or his daughters-in-law (for his sons are B and their wives are A). All these A women belong to A's own class; hence by the rule of exogamy he may not marry nor cohabit with them. Thus he is forbidden to marry his group mothers (including his actual mother and her sisters), his group sisters (including his actual sisters and his cousins, the daughters either of his mother's sisters or of his father's brothers), the daughters of his group sisters, and his group daughters-

Prohibited degrees of marriage.

in-law (including his actual daughters-in-law, the wives of his sons).

(*b*) All the B women in the generation above A's own are his group mothers-in-law and one of them is his actual mother-in-law (since his wife is a B and her mother is a B), but he calls them all his mothers-in-law, because by the rule he is free to marry or cohabit with the daughters of any of them. All the B women in his own generation are his cousins, the daughters either of his father's sisters (for his father's sisters are B and their daughters are B) or of his mother's brothers (for his mother's brothers are A and their daughters are B). All the B women in the generation below his own are his daughters or the daughters of his brothers (for his brothers like himself are A and marry B women and their daughters are B); but he calls them all his daughters. The reason why he calls his brother's daughters his daughters may have been, as we shall see afterwards, because at this stage of social evolution a group of brothers commonly cohabited with a group of sisters and the individual fatherhood of the children was uncertain, though the group fatherhood was certain or probable. All these B women belong to the other class from A; hence by the rule of exogamy he may marry or cohabit with any of them. Thus he is allowed to marry his mother-in-law, his cousins (the daughters either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers), his daughters, and his brothers' daughters. But of these women it is natural that he should marry or cohabit chiefly with the women of his own generation, and as these are his cousins (the daughters either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers), it follows that his cousins (the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's brothers) are his proper wives or mates, and consequently he calls them all his wives, because by the fundamental law of the classes he may marry any of them. That is why among the Urabunna, who have this simplest of all forms of exogamy, the two-class system with female descent, a man's proper marriage is always with his cousin, the daughter either of his father's sister or of his mother's brother, but never with his cousin the daughter either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, since marriage with the

The classificatory relationships of an A man to the B women.

Permitted degrees of marriage.

daughter either of a father's brother or of a mother's sister is barred by the two-class system of exogamy, and that whether descent is traced in the male or in the female line.[1] The same reason doubtless explains the widespread preference for marriage with a cousin, the daughter either of a father's sister or of a mother's brother, combined with the strict prohibition of marriage with a cousin, the daughter either of a father's brother or of a mother's sister. Accordingly, wherever we find that preference combined with that prohibition we may reasonably infer that a two-class system of exogamy was once in force.[2]

The effect of the two-class system is to regulate satisfactorily all marriages between men and women of the same generation, but not all marriages between men and women of different generations; since with female descent the two-class system allows a man to cohabit with his mother-in-law and his own daughter, while with male descent it allows him to cohabit

What then were the results of this first attempt to bar sexual unions which had come to be viewed with general disapprobation as incestuous? Regarded from the standpoint of this growing moral sentiment, the results were partly satisfactory and partly unsatisfactory. They were satisfactory so far as they prevented cohabitation with mothers, sisters, and daughters-in-law; they were unsatisfactory so far as they permitted cohabitation with the wife's mother and with a man's own daughters; for with regard to father and daughter it seems probable that an aversion to their sexual union had grown up long before the physical relationship between the two was recognised, and while he still stood to her only in the position of her mother's consort and the guardian of the family. Thus in regard to the women of a man's own generation, amongst whom his wives or mates are most naturally sought, the system at first succeeded perfectly, since it assigned to him as his wives or mates his cousins, the daughters either of his father's sisters or of his mother's brothers; for the early popularity of this particular marriage may be safely inferred from the preference accorded to it by so many races down to the present day. But while the new matrimonial machinery worked smoothly and without a hitch in regard to the cohabitation of all men and women of the same generation, it jolted badly or even broke down at the cohabitation of men and women of different generations, since it allowed a man to cohabit with his mother-in-law in the generation above his

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 177 *sqq.*, 180 *sqq.*

[2] Compare vol. ii. pp. 224-228.

own, and with his daughters in the generation below his own. And if the rule of male descent had been adopted instead of female descent, the difficulty of regulating the cohabitation of men and women in different generations would not have been evaded, it would only have been changed; for with a two-class system and male descent it can easily be shewn, by a similar demonstration, that while a man is prevented from cohabiting with his mother-in-law in the generation above his own, and with his own daughter in the generation below his own, since they both belong to his own exogamous class, he is on the other hand free to cohabit with his own mother in the generation above his own, and with his daughter-in-law in the generation below his own, since they both belong to the other exogamous class into which he marries. Thus the result of adopting a two-class system with male descent would be if anything rather worse than better, since it would substitute leave to marry a mother for leave to marry a daughter, and it is probable that ever since the notion of incest arose sexual union with a mother has been deemed a graver offence than sexual union with a daughter, if for no other reason than that the relationship between a mother and her son must from the first have been seen to be consanguineous, whereas the relationship between a father and his daughter was for long supposed to be only social.

with his own mother and his daughter-in-law.

Thus whichever way the founders of the two-class system of exogamy arranged descents, they were disconcerted by finding that under it, though the sexual relations between men and women of the same generation were now, so far as they conformed to the system, entirely satisfactory (since either with male or female descent men regularly cohabited with their cousins, the daughters of their father's sisters or of their mother's brothers), the sexual relations between men and women of different generations were still very unsatisfactory on some important points, inasmuch as with female descent a man might marry his daughter or his mother-in-law, while with male descent he might marry his mother or his daughter-in-law. What was to be done?

How were these evils of the two-class system to be remedied?

The object was to prevent certain persons of one generation from cohabiting with certain persons of another

The object was attained by subdividing each exogamous class into two subclasses, and ordaining that two successive generations should never belong to the same subclass. Thus the creation of the four-class system effectually cured the worst evils which the two-class system had failed to remedy.

generation, and it appears to have struck some inventive genius that this could readily be effected by subdividing each of the two exogamous classes into two companion subclasses according to generations, and by ordaining that henceforth each of the four resulting subclasses should marry into only one other subclass, and that two successive generations should never belong to the same subclass, or, to be more precise, that children should never belong to the subclass of either parent, but always to the companion subclass of their father or of their mother according as descent was reckoned in the male or in the female line. If this expedient were adopted, all the most objectionable permissions granted by the old two-class system would be cancelled, all the loopholes left for incest would be closed. For whereas under the two-class system with female descent a man was free to marry his daughter because she belonged to the other exogamous class, under the new four-class system with female descent he would no longer be free to do so, since, although she still belonged to the other exogamous class, and was therefore so far marriageable, she had now been transferred to a different subclass into which he was forbidden to marry. Similarly, whereas under the two-class system with male descent a man was free to marry his mother because she belonged to the other exogamous class, under the new four-class system with male descent he was no longer free to do so, since, although she still belonged to the other exogamous class, and was therefore so far marriageable, she had now been transferred to a different subclass into which he was forbidden to marry. Again, whereas under the old two-class system with female descent a man was free to marry his mother-in-law since she belonged to the same exogamous class as her daughter, his wife, under the new four-class system with female descent he was no longer free to do so, since, although she still belonged to the same exogamous class as her daughter, his wife, and was therefore so far marriageable, she had now been transferred to a different subclass into which he was forbidden to marry. Similarly, whereas under the old two-class system with male descent a man was free to marry his daughter-in-law because she

belonged to the other exogamous class, under the new four-class system with male descent he was no longer free to do so, since, although she still belonged to the other exogamous class and was therefore so far marriageable, she had now been transferred to another subclass into which he was forbidden to marry. Thus all the evils which have been indicated as incidental to the two-class system are remedied by the four-class system, whether descent be traced in the male or in the female line. If the rules of the new system are only observed, the possibility of incest with a sister, a mother, a mother-in-law, and a daughter-in-law is absolutely prevented. Hence many Australian tribes have acquiesced in the four-class system as adequate to all their requirements and have never pushed the exogamous subdivision further.[1]

The reason why a large group of tribes in Central and Northern Australia has carried the subdivision one step

[1] An entirely different explanation of the four-class system has been suggested by Professor E. Durkheim. See E. Durkheim, "La Prohibition de l'inceste," *L'Année sociologique*, i. (1898) pp. 11-22. But his explanation suffers from the fatal defect that it explains only the four-class system with female descent and not the four-class system with male descent. Yet the four-class system with male descent exists in tribes which occupy a considerable range of country in South-eastern Queensland, as Dr. A. W. Howitt pointed out long before Prof. Durkheim published his theory. See A. W. Howitt, "Further Notes on the Australian Class Systems," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 48-50; compare his *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 114-118. Thus Prof. Durkheim is mistaken in affirming (*op. cit.* p. 21) that "*Howitt lui-même a remarqué que partout où le clan se recrute* ex masculis et per masculos, *la classe n'existe pas.*" No such statement is made by Dr. Howitt in the passage (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. 40) to which Prof. Durkheim refers, and even if Dr. Howitt had made such a statement it would have been refuted by the facts adduced by Dr. Howitt himself a few pages further on, where he records (pp. 48-50) the existence of a considerable group of tribes with a four-class system and male descent. Moreover, since Prof. Durkheim published his theory of the four-class system, the researches of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have revealed the existence of a very large body of tribes in Central and Northern Australia, which have an eight-class system with male descent. Hence, whereas Prof. Durkheim had ventured to conjecture (*op. cit.* p. 21) that the subclasses would disappear with male descent, they are found on the contrary to multiply with it. Professor Durkheim's theory of the four-class system may therefore be dismissed as inadequate to account for the facts, since it offers no explanation of the numerous cases of tribes with four or eight classes and male descent. The explanation which I have adopted has the advantage of explaining all the facts of the four-class and eight-class systems alike, whether descent be reckoned in the male or in the female line.

The subsequent creation of the eight-class system in some tribes seems to have been designed to prevent the marriage of certain first cousins, viz. the children of a brother and a sister respectively.

further by splitting each exogamous subclass into two and so producing the eight-class system, appears to have been a growing aversion to the marriage of first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively. For we know that many Australian tribes forbid such marriages, even though they have not adopted the eight-class system, which effectually prevents them.[1] Indeed some tribes which discountenance the marriage of first cousins, such as the Dieri and the Kulin, never advanced beyond the stage of the two-class system. This shews, as I have already pointed out,[2] how even an exogamous community may by a simple prohibition bar marriages which it disapproves of without needing to extend its exogamous system by further subdivisions. The incest line has most commonly wavered at first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, opinion sometimes inclining decidedly in favour of, and sometimes decidedly against, these unions. So it has been in Australia and so it has been elsewhere[3] down to our own time in our own country. In Australia some, but not all, of the tribes which disapproved of the marriages of first cousins expressed their disapproval by extending their exogamous system so as to include such unions in its ban. Others contented themselves with keeping the old exogamous system in its simpler forms of two or four classes and merely forbidding the marriages in question.

Thus the whole exogamous system of the Australian aborigines is explicable on the hypothesis that it sprang from an

Thus the whole complex exogamous system of the Australian aborigines is explicable in a simple and natural way if we suppose that it sprang from a growing aversion to the marriage of near kin, beginning with the marriage of brothers with sisters and of parents with children, and ending at the marriage of cousins, who sometimes fell within and sometimes without the table of forbidden degrees. To prevent these marriages the tribes deliberately subdivided themselves into two, four, or eight exogamous classes, the

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 346, 439, 449 *sq.*, 459, 474 *sq.*, 483. As to the prevention of the marriage of first cousins by means of the eight-class system, see above, vol. i. pp. 277 *sq.*

[2] Vol. i. pp. 346, 439.

[3] For example, the Fijians and many castes in India prefer these marriages to all others. Other peoples, such as the Southern Melanesians, the Masai, the Baganda, and the Indians of Costa Rica forbid them altogether. See vol. ii. pp. 75 *sq.*, 141 *sqq.*, 224 *sqq.*, 409, 508; iii. 552; and the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Cousins."

three systems succeeding each other in a series of growing complexity as each was found inadequate to meet the increasing demands of public opinion and morality. The scheme no doubt took shape in the minds of a few men of a sagacity and practical ability above the ordinary, who by their influence and authority persuaded their fellows to put it in practice; but at the same time the plan must have answered to certain general sentiments of what was right and proper, which had been springing up in the community long before a definite social organisation was adopted to enforce them. And what is true of the origination of the system in its simplest form is doubtless true of each successive step which added at once to the complexity and to the efficiency of the curious machinery which savage wit had devised for the preservation of sexual morality. Thus, and thus only, does it seem possible to explain a social system at once so intricate, so regular, and so perfectly adapted to the needs and the opinions of the people who practise it. In the whole of history, as I have already remarked, it would hardly be possible to find another human institution on which the impress of deliberate thought and purpose has been stamped more plainly than on the exogamous systems of the Australian aborigines.

aversion to the marriages of near kin, and that it was produced by a series of deliberate bisections of the community intended to prevent such marriages.

Thus we may suppose that exogamy replaced a previous state of practically unrestricted sexual promiscuity. What the new system introduced was not individual marriage but group marriage; that is, it took away from all the men of the community the unlimited right of intercourse with all the women and obliged a certain group of men to confine themselves to a certain group of women. At first these groups were large, but they were reduced in size by each successive bisection of the tribe. The two-class system left every man free to cohabit, roughly speaking, with half the women of the community; the four-class system forbade him to have sexual relations with more than one fourth of the women; and the eight-class system restricted him to one eighth of the women. Thus each successive step in the exogamous progression erected a fresh barrier between the sexes; it was an advance from promiscuity through group marriage towards monogamy. Of this practice of group

What exogamy introduced was not individual marriage but group marriage, and the size of the intermarrying groups was reduced with each successive bisection of the tribe. The best record of group marriage is the classificatory system of relationship.

marriage, intermediate between the two terms of the series, promiscuity on the one side and monogamy on the other, the most complete record is furnished by the classificatory system of relationship, which defines the relations of men and women to each other according to the particular generation and the particular exogamous class to which they belong. The cardinal relationship of the whole system is the marriageability of a group of men with a group of women. All the other relationships of the system hinge on this central one.

Classificatory relationships of men to each other in the two-class system.

We have seen how with the institution of the primary two-class system all the men at once fall into classificatory relationships to all the women according to generations and classes, these relationships being an extension of the simplest and most obvious of human relationships; the relationship of husband to wife in the largest sense of the word, the relationship of a mother to her children, and the relationship of these children, as brothers and sisters, to each other. Simultaneously, of course, the classificatory relationships of the men to each other are determined by the same means. For example, if the system is composed of two exogamous classes with descent in the female line, and we name the classes as before A and B, we may define as follows the relations of an A man to all the other men of the community, assuming for the sake of simplicity that the men are all comprised in three generations, namely A's own generation, the generation above his own, and the generation below his own.

The classificatory relationships of an A man to the other A men.

(*a*) To take first the classificatory relationships of an A man to the other A men. In the generation above his own all the A men are his mother's brothers (since his mother is A and her brothers are A) or his fathers-in-law (since his wives are B and their fathers are A). In his own generation all the A men are his brothers or his cousins, the sons either of his mother's sisters (since his mother is A and her sons are A) or of his father's brothers (since his father's brothers are B and their sons are A), but he calls them all indiscriminately his brothers. In the generation below his own all the A men are the sons either of his sisters (since his sisters are A and their children are A) or of his female

cousins, the daughters of his mother's sisters or of his father's brothers; but he calls them all his nephews.

(*b*) To take now the classificatory relationships of an A man to the B men. In the generation above his own all the B men are his group fathers or his father's brothers and one of them is his actual father, but he calls them all his fathers. In his own generation all the B men are his cousins, the sons either of his father's sisters (since his father's sisters are B and their sons are B) or of his mother's brothers (since his mother's brothers are A and their sons are B), and they are all his wife's brothers (since his wife is a B). In the generation below his own all the B men are his sons or his brother's sons (since his brothers are A and their sons are B), but he calls them all indiscriminately his sons. A reason for thus confounding his own sons with his brother's sons has already been suggested.[1] There are grounds for thinking, as I shall point out presently, that a very early form of group marriage consisted of a group of brothers married to a group of sisters, and in such unions it might be difficult or impossible for a man to distinguish his own sons from his brothers' sons.

The classificatory relationships of an A man to the B men.

If the reader will take the trouble to compare the relationships of men and women, which I have thus theoretically deduced from a simple exogamous bisection of the community, with the relationships actually recognised by the classificatory system, as these relationships have come before us again and again in the course of this work,[2] he will at once perceive their substantial agreement, though for the sake of simplicity and clearness I have refrained from following the system through its more remote ramifications in the fourth and fifth generations. The agreement should convince him that the classificatory system of relationship has in fact resulted from a simple bisection of the community into two exogamous classes and from nothing else. It should be particularly observed that the two-class system of exogamy suffices of itself to create the classificatory

The classificatory relationships result directly from the bisection of a community into two exogamous classes; they appear not to be affected by the subsequent bisections into four and eight

[1] Above, p. 115.

[2] See the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Classificatory System of Relationship," or the tables in Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 76 *sqq.*; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 78 *sqq.*

subclasses which have taken place in some Australian tribes, but which have not been found to occur in any other part of the world.

system of relationship, which appears not to have been materially affected by the subsequent adoption of the four-class and eight-class systems in certain tribes. This observation is important, because, while the classificatory system of relationship is found to be diffused over a great part of the world, the four-class and eight-class systems have hitherto been detected in Australia alone. In the absence of evidence to the contrary we accordingly infer that the successive bisections of the two-class system into four and eight classes have been inventions of the Australian intellect alone, and that the existence of the classificatory system in other races of men raises no presumption that these races have ever practised exogamy in any more complex form than the simple two-class system.

Thus with the institution of two exogamous classes and the resulting system of group marriage the classificatory system of relationship springs up of itself; it simply defines the relations of all the men and women of the community to each other according to the generation and the exogamous class to which they belong. The seemingly complex system of relationship, like the seemingly complex system of exogamy on which it is based, turns out to be simple enough when we view it from its starting-point in the bisection of a community into two exogamous classes.

The custom of group marriage still exists, or existed till lately, in some Australian tribes, though the intermarrying groups are much smaller than the exogamous classes.

But in dealing with aboriginal Australian society we are not left to infer the former prevalence of group marriage from the classificatory system of relationship alone. We have seen that a practice of group marriage actually prevails, or prevailed till lately, among many Australian tribes, especially in the dreary regions about Lake Eyre, where nature may almost be said to have exhausted her ingenuity in making the country uninhabitable, and where accordingly the aborigines, fully occupied in maintaining a bare struggle for existence, enjoyed none of those material advantages which are essential to intellectual and social progress.[1] Naturally enough, therefore, the old custom of group

[1] As to existing, or lately existing, group marriage in Australia, see above, vol. i. pp. 308 *sqq.*, 363 *sqq.* As to the nature of the country about Lake Eyre, see vol. i. pp. 341 *sq.* As to the necessity of material advantages for intellectual and social progress, see above, vol. i. pp. 167 *sqq.*, 314 *sqq.*

marriage has lingered longest amongst these most backward tribes, who have retained exogamy in its simplest and oldest form, that of the two-class system. But even among them the marriage groups are by no means coincident with the exogamous classes; they are far narrower in extent, they are a still closer approximation to the custom of individual marriage, that is, to the marriage of one man with one woman or with several women, which is now the ordinary form of sexual union in the Australian tribes. Thus the history of exogamy may be compared to a series of concentric rings placed successively one within the other, each of lesser circumference than its predecessor and each consequently circumscribing within narrower bounds the freedom of the individuals whom it encloses. The outermost ring includes all the women of the tribe; the innermost ring includes one woman only. The first ring represents promiscuity; the last ring represents monogamy.

When exogamy was instituted, there were reasons for tracing descent of the exogamous classes in the female rather than in the male line.

In what precedes I have assumed that when a community first divided itself into two exogamous classes the children were assigned to the class of their mother, in other words, that descent was traced in the female line. One obvious reason for preferring female to male descent would be the certainty and the permanence of the blood relationship between a mother and her child compared with the uncertainty and frequently the impermanence of the social relationship between a man and the children of the woman with whom he cohabited; for in speaking of these early times we must always bear in mind that the physical relationship of a father to his children was not yet recognised, and that he was to them no more than their guardian and the consort of their mother. Another strong reason, which indeed flows as a consequence from the preceding reason, for preferring female to male descent in the original two-class system of exogamy was that the aversion to incest with a mother was probably much older and more deeply rooted than the aversion to incest with a daughter, and that, while a two-class system with female descent bars incest with a mother, a two-class system with male descent does not do so; for whereas a two-class system with female descent puts a mother and her son in the same

exogamous class and thereby prevents their sexual union, a two-class system with male descent puts mother and son in different exogamous classes and therefore presents no barrier to their sexual union. For these reasons it seems probable that when exogamy was first instituted most people adopted maternal rather than paternal descent of the exogamous classes.

But with group marriage it is as easy to determine group fatherhood as it is to determine group motherhood; hence from the beginning of exogamy some tribes may have preferred to trace descent of exogamous classes in the male rather than in the female line.

But it need not necessarily have been so. I have already pointed out[1] that with group marriage it is as easy to trace group fatherhood as group motherhood, since the group of fathers is just as well known as the group of mothers, though the individual father may be unknown. It is therefore perfectly possible that in instituting exogamy some tribes from the beginning preferred to assign children to the group of their fathers instead of to the group of their mothers. Of course such an assignation would not imply any recognition of physical paternity, the nature and even existence of which were most probably quite unknown to the founders of exogamy. All that these primitive savages understood by a father of children was a man who cohabited with the children's mother and acted as guardian of the family. That cohabitation, whether occasional or prolonged, would be a fact as familiar, or nearly as familiar, to every member of the community as the fact of the woman's motherhood; and though nobody thought of connecting the cohabitation with the motherhood as cause and effect, yet the mere association of the man with the woman gave him an interest in her children, and the more prolonged the association, in other words, the more permanent the marriage, the greater would be the interest he would take in them. The children were obviously a part of the woman's body; and if from long possession he came to regard the woman as his property, he would naturally be led to regard her children as his property also. In fact, as I have already suggested,[2] we may conjecture that a man looked on his wife's children as his chattels long before he knew them to be his offspring. Thus in primitive society it is probable that fatherhood was viewed as a social, not a physical, relationship of a man to his children. But that

[1] Vol. i. pp. 167, 248 *sq.*, 335 *sq.*

[2] Vol. i. p. 167.

social relationship may quite well have been considered a sufficient reason for assigning children to the class of the man who had the right of cohabiting with their mother rather than to the class of the mother herself. Hence we cannot safely assume that Australian communities, such as the Arunta and other Central tribes, who now transmit their exogamous classes in the paternal line, ever transmitted them in the maternal line.[1] So far as exogamy is concerned, father-kin may be as primitive as mother-kin.

It remains to examine the relation of the exogamous classes to the totemic clans.

To complete our view of Australian exogamy it only remains to indicate the relation of the exogamous classes to the totemic clans, and to shew how the exogamy of the clans came, under certain circumstances, to follow as a corollary from the exogamy of the classes, that is, primarily from the bisection of a community into two intermarrying groups. We have seen that among the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia, whose totemic, though not their exogamous, system appears to be the most primitive, the totemic clans are not exogamous, and the reason why they are not exogamous is that these tribes have retained the truly primitive mode of determining a person's totem, not by the totem of his father or mother, but by the accident of the place where his mother imagined that the infant's spirit had passed into her womb. Such a mode of determining the totem, if it is rigorously observed, clearly prevents the totems from being hereditary and therefore renders them useless for the purposes of exogamy; since with conceptional totemism of this sort you cannot prevent, for example, a brother from cohabiting with a sister or a mother from cohabiting with her son by laying down a rule that no man shall cohabit with a woman of the same totem. For with conceptional totemism it may happen, and often does happen, that the brother's totem is different from the sister's totem and the mother's totem different from the son's totem. In such cases, therefore, an

In Central Australia the rule of exogamy was not applied to the totemic clans, because with conceptional totemism, such as prevails among these tribes, the application of the exogamous rule to the totems could not prevent the marriage of near kin.

[1] Professor E. Durkheim, indeed, has argued that in these Central tribes descent of the classes was traced in the female line before it was traced in the male line. See E. Durkheim, "Sur le totémisme," *L'Année sociologique*, v. (1902) pp. 98 *sqq.* But, as Messrs. Spencer and Gillen pointed out (*Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 121, note [1]), his argument rests on a misapprehension of the facts, and collapses when that misapprehension is corrected.

exogamous rule which forbids cohabitation between men and women of the same totem would be powerless to prevent the incest of a brother with a sister, or the incest of a mother with her son. Accordingly the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia, as well as the Banks' Islanders, who have retained the primitive system of conceptional totemism, have logically and rightly never applied the rule of exogamy to their totemic clans, because they saw, what indeed was obvious, that its application to them would not effect the object which exogamy was instituted to effect, to wit, the prevention of the marriage of near kin. Thus the omission of these tribes to apply the rule of exogamy to their totemic clans, while they strictly applied it to the classes, not only indicates in the clearest manner the sharp distinction which we must draw between the exogamous classes and the totemic clans, but also furnishes a strong argument in favour of the view that exogamy was instituted for no other purpose than to prevent the marriage of near kin, since it was strictly applied to those social divisions which effected that purpose, and was not applied at all to those social divisions which could not possibly effect it.

In other Australian tribes it is possible that the totems had become hereditary before the introduction of exogamy, and if that were so the totemic clans would naturally become exogamous by being distributed among the exogamous classes.

From this it follows that amongst the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia exogamy was introduced before the totems had become hereditary. Was it so in the other Australian tribes? It is not necessary to suppose so. We may imagine that people took their totems regularly either from their father or their mother before the introduction of exogamy, that is, while persons of the same totem were still free to cohabit with each other. If, then, exogamy in its simplest form of a two-class system were instituted in a community which up to that time had consisted of a number of hereditary totemic, but not exogamous, clans, it is easy to see that the exogamy of the totemic clans would be a natural, though not a necessary, consequence. For an obvious way of drawing the new exogamous line through the community would be to divide up the hereditary totemic clans between the two exogamous classes, placing so many clans on one side of the line to form the one class, and so many clans on the other side of the line to form the other class. In this way, given the exogamy of the two

there are many causes which would tend in course of time to give a preference to male descent or father-kin over female descent or mother-kin. Amongst these causes the principal would probably be the gradual restriction of group marriage within narrower and narrower limits and with it the greater certainty of individual fatherhood; for it is to be remembered that although exogamy appears to have been instituted at a time when the nature of physical paternity was unknown, most tribes which still observe the institution are now, and probably have long been, acquainted with the part which the father plays in the begetting of offspring. Even in South-Eastern Australia, where, favoured by a fine climate and ample supplies of food, the aborigines had made the greatest material and intellectual progress, the fact of physical paternity was clearly recognised,[1] though it is still unknown to the ruder tribes of the Centre and the North. And with the knowledge of the blood tie which unites a man to his children, it is obvious that his wish to draw them closer to himself socially would also naturally be strengthened. Thus, whereas the system of father-kin, once established, is perfectly stable, being never exchanged for mother-kin, the system of mother-kin, on the other hand, is unstable, being constantly liable to be exchanged for father-kin. The chief agency in effecting the transition from mother-kin to father-kin would appear to have been a general increase in material prosperity bringing with it a large accession of private property to individuals. For it is when a man has much to bequeath to his heirs that he becomes sensible of the natural inequity, as it now appears to him, of a system of kinship which obliges him to transmit all his goods to his sisters' children and none to his own. Hence it is with the great development of private property that devices for shifting descent from the female to the male line most commonly originate. Amongst these devices are the practice of making presents to a man's own children in his lifetime, in order that when he dies there may be little or nothing to go to his sisters' children; the practice of buying his wife and with her the children from her family, so that henceforth the father is the owner as

with female descent or mother-kin there would in time be a tendency to prefer male descent or father-kin. For with the gradual restriction of group marriage individual fatherhood would become more and more certain; and with the growth of property men would desire more and more to transmit their belongings to their own children, rather than to their sisters' children, who are a man's heirs under a system of mother-kin. On the other hand, a tribe which started with father-kin would have no motive to exchange it for mother-kin.

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 338, 439 *sq.*

well as the begetter of his offspring; and the practice of naming children into their father's clan instead of into their mother's. Examples of all these methods of shifting the line of descent from the female to the male line have come before us in the course of our survey,[1] and no doubt they might easily be multiplied. Hence, as I have already pointed out,[2] wherever we find a tribe wavering between female descent and male descent we may be sure that it is in the act of passing from mother-kin to father-kin, and not in the reverse direction, since there are many motives which induce men to exchange mother-kin for father-kin but none which induce them to exchange father-kin for mother-kin. If in Australia there is little or no evidence of a transition from maternal to paternal descent, the reason is probably to be found in the extreme poverty of the Australian aborigines, who, having hardly any property to bequeath to their heirs, were not very solicitous as to who their heirs should be.

Thus the whole marriage system of the Australian aborigines can be explained by two simple principles.

Thus the whole apparently intricate, obscure, and confused system of aboriginal Australian marriage and relationship can be readily and simply explained on the two principles of conceptional totemism and the division of a community into two exogamous classes for the sake of preventing the marriage of near kin. Given these two principles as starting-points, and granted that totemism preceded exogamy, we see that the apparent intricacy, obscurity, and confusion of the system vanish like clouds and are replaced by a clear, orderly, and logical evolution. On any other principles, so far as I can perceive, the attempt to explain Australian totemism and exogamy only darkens darkness and confounds confusion.

Will the same theory explain exogamy in other parts of the world? It is true

Having found, as it seems, an adequate explanation of the growth, though not of the ultimate origin, of exogamy in aboriginal Australia, we naturally ask whether a similar explanation can account for the growth of exogamy in all the other parts of the world where it is practised. The germ of the whole institution, if I am right, is the deliberate

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 71 *sq.*, vol. ii. p. 195, vol. iii. pp. 42, 72, 174 *sq.*, 308 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 71.

bisection of the whole community into two exogamous classes for the purpose of preventing the sexual unions of near kin. Accordingly on this hypothesis we should expect to find such a bisection or traces of it in all exogamous tribes. The facts, however, do not by any means altogether answer to that expectation. It is true that a division into two exogamous classes, in other words, a two-class system, exists commonly, though not universally, in Melanesia[1] and is found among some tribes of North American Indians, such as the Iroquois, the Tlingits, the Haidas, and the Kenais.[2] But the existence of two and only two exogamous divisions in a community is rare and exceptional. Usually we find not two exogamous classes but many exogamous clans, as appears to be the invariable rule among the numerous totemic peoples of India and Africa.[3] But is it not possible that in some communities these exogamous and totemic clans may once have been grouped in exogamous classes or phratries which afterwards disappeared, leaving behind them nothing but the exogamy of the totemic clans, in other words, the prohibition of marriage between men and women of the same totemic clans? This is not only possible; it appears to have actually happened in totemic communities widely separated from each other. Thus in the Western Islands of Torres Straits there is reason to think that the totemic clans were formerly grouped in two exogamous classes or phratries, but that the exogamy of the classes has been relaxed while the exogamy of the totemic clans has been retained.[4] Careful enquiry led Dr. Seligmann to the conclusion that the same thing has happened among the Mekeo people and the Wagawaga people of New Guinea.[5] In North America the very same change is known to have taken place among the Iroquois, as we learn from the high authority of L. H. Morgan, who lived among them for long and knew them intimately. Formerly, he says, the Iroquois were divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, each

that exogamy of the simple two-class type is found in few places; but there are reasons for thinking that it may formerly have been practised by many peoples, who now observe only exogamy of the totemic clans

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 69 *sqq.*, 118 *sqq.*, 127 *sq.*, 131 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. iii. pp. 11 *sq.*, 265 *sq.*, 280 *sq.*, 364 *sq.*

[3] However, in Africa the Gallas in the East and the Wepa people in the West are reported to be divided into two exogamous classes, though not into totemic clans. See above, vol. ii. pp. 541, 590.

[4] See above, vol. ii. pp. 5-7.

[5] See above, vol. ii. pp. 44 *sq.*,

comprising four totemic clans, and no one might marry a woman in any of the four clans of his own class or phratry without incurring the deepest detestation and disgrace. In process of time, however, he tells us, the rigour of the system was relaxed, until finally the prohibition of marriage was confined only to the totemic clan.[1] Again, precisely the same change is reported to have taken place among the Hurons or Wyandots. Our best authority on the tribe, Mr. W. E. Connolly, informs us that formerly the Wyandots were divided into two exogamous classes or phratries, one of which comprised four and the other seven totemic clans. In old times marriage was forbidden within the class or phratry as well as within the totem clan, for the clans grouped together in a class or phratry were regarded as brothers to each other, whereas they were only cousins to the clans of the other class or phratry. But at a later time the rule prohibiting marriage within the class was abolished and the prohibition was restricted to the totemic clan; in other words, the clan continued to be exogamous after the class had ceased to be so.[2] On the other side of America the same change would seem to have taken place among the Kenais of Alaska, though our information as to that tribe is not full and precise enough to allow us to speak with confidence.[3]

A strong motive for dropping the exogamy of the classes and retaining the exogamy of the clans is that the former is far more burdensome than the latter, since it imposes far greater restrictions on marriage.

These facts shew that in tribes which have two exogamous classes, each class comprising a number of totemic clans, there is a tendency for the exogamy of the class to be dropped and the exogamy of the clan to be retained. An obvious motive for such a change is to be found in the far heavier burden which the exogamous class imposes on those who submit to it. For where a community is divided into two exogamous classes every man is thereby forbidden to marry, roughly speaking, one half of all the women of the community. In small communities, and in savage society the community is generally small, such a rule must often make it very difficult for a man to obtain a wife at all; accordingly there would be a strong temptation to relax the burdensome exogamous rule of the class and to retain the

[1] See above, vol. iii. p. 11. [2] See above, vol. iii. pp. 33 *sq.*

[3] See above, vol. iii. pp. 364 *sq.*

far easier exogamous rule of the clan. The relief afforded by such a relaxation would be immediate, and it would be all the greater in proportion to the number of the totemic clans. If there were, let us say, twenty totemic clans, then, instead of being excluded from marriage with ten of them by the severe rule of class exogamy, a man would now be excluded from marriage with only one of them by the mild rule of clan exogamy. The temptation thus offered to tribes hard put to it for wives must often have proved irresistible. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that many tribes besides the Western Islanders of Torres Straits, the Iroquois, and the Wyandots have tacitly or formally abolished the exogamy of the class, while they satisfied their scruples by continuing to observe the exogamy of the clan. In doing so they would exchange a heavy for a light matrimonial yoke.

Thus clan exogamy may everywhere have been preceded by class exogamy.

The foregoing considerations suggest that everywhere the exogamy of the totemic clan may have been preceded by exogamy of the class or phratry, even where no trace of a two-class system has survived; in short, we may perhaps draw the conclusion that exogamy of the totemic clans is always exogamy in decay, since the restrictions which it imposes on marriage are far less sweeping than the restrictions imposed by the exogamy of the classes or phratries.

The existence of the classificatory system of relationship in all totemic peoples is another reason for inferring that their totemic clans were formerly distributed in two exogamous classes.

But there is another strong and quite independent reason for thinking that many tribes which now know only the exogamy of the totemic clans formerly distributed these totemic clans into two exogamous classes. We have seen that wherever the system of relationship of a totemic people has been ascertained, that system is classificatory, not descriptive, in its nature. To that rule there appears to be no exception. But, further, we have found that the classificatory system of relationship follows naturally and necessarily as a corollary from the system of group marriage created by the distribution of a community into two exogamous classes.[1] Hence we may infer with some degree of probability that, wherever the classificatory system now exists, a two-class system of exogamy existed before. If that is so, then exogamy would seem everywhere to have originated as in

[1] See above, pp. 114 *sqq.*

Australia by a deliberate bisection of the community into two exogamous classes for the purpose of preventing the marriage of near kin, especially the marriage of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons.

Thus exogamy may everywhere have originated in a bi-section of the community into two exogamous classes for the purpose of preventing the marriage of near kin.

An advantage of adopting this as a general solution of the whole problem of exogamy is that, like the solution of the problem of totemism which I have adopted, it enables us to understand how the institution is found so widely distributed over the globe without obliging us to assume either that it has been borrowed by one distant race from another, or that it has been transmitted by inheritance from the common ancestors of races so diverse and remote from each other as the Australian aborigines, the Dravidians of India, the negro and Bantu peoples of Africa, and the Indians of North America. Institutions so primitive and so widespread as totemism and exogamy are explained more easily and naturally by the hypothesis of independent origin in many places than by the hypothesis either of borrowing or of inheritance from primaeval ancestors. But to explain the wide diffusion of any such institution, with any appearance of probability, on the hypothesis of many separate origins, we must be able to point to certain simple general ideas which naturally suggest themselves to savage men, and we must be able to indicate some easy and obvious way in which these ideas might find expression in practice. A theory which requires us to assume that a highly complex process of evolution has been repeated independently by many races in many lands condemns itself at the outset. If a custom has sprung up independently in a multitude of savage tribes all over the globe, it is probable that it has originated in some idea which to the savage mind appears very simple and obvious. Such a simple idea we have found for totemism in the belief that women can be impregnated without the aid of the other sex by animals, plants, and other natural objects, which enter into them and are born from them with the nature of the animals, plants, or other natural objects, though with the illusory appearance of human beings. Such a simple idea we have found for exogamy in the dislike of the cohabitation of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons, and we have seen

how this dislike might easily find expression in the distribution of a community into two exogamous classes with female descent, which effectually prevents all such cohabitations. The hypothesis has at least the merit of simplicity which, as I have just said, is indispensable to any theory which professes to explain the independent origin in many places of a widespread institution.

Exogamy may have arisen independently at several distant points and spread by diffusion through neighbouring peoples.

At the same time it is possible to push the theory of independent origins too far. Within certain limits it seems probable that exogamy has spread from one tribe to another by simple borrowing. This may well have happened, for example, among the Australian aborigines, who for the most part live in friendly communication with each other and readily pass on their simple inventions to their neighbours. Indeed we know that changes in the exogamous classes have been spreading for some time from one Australian tribe to another;[1] there is therefore no improbability, indeed there is great probability, in the view that the plan of bisecting a community into two exogamous classes may have originated in a few Australian tribes, possibly in one tribe only, and may have been passed on by the inventors to their neighbours till it spread by diffusion over the whole continent. And in other parts of the world we may suppose that the same thing has happened within certain ethnical and geographical boundaries. In short, it appears likely that exogamy, in the form of the two-class system, has sprung up independently at a number of points in widely separated areas, such as the different continents, and that from these points as centres it has been diffused in gradually widening circles among neighbouring peoples.

Exogamy was a system of group marriage devised to supersede a previous state of sexual promiscuity. But the state of

But if exogamy has been instituted in other parts of the world to serve the same purpose that it appears to have served in Australia, we must conclude that it has everywhere been originally a system of group marriage devised for the sake of superseding a previous state of sexual promiscuity, which had for some time been falling into general disrepute before a few of the abler men hit upon an expedient for abolishing it or rather for restraining it within certain limits. Such a state of absolute sexual promiscuity, we must

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 283.

promiscuity is a matter of inference only; there is no good evidence that it has ever been practised by any race of men within historical times.

remember, is a matter of inference, not of observation. There is no good evidence, so far as I am aware, that it has ever been practised by any race of men within historical times; and if it ever existed, as we have reason to think that it did, the moral and social conditions which it implies are so low that it could not reasonably be expected to have survived at the present day even among the lowest of existing savages. The numerous statements which have been made as to a total absence of restrictions on the intercourse of the sexes in certain races seem all to be loose, vague, and based on imperfect knowledge or on hearsay; certainly not one of them has ever borne the scrutiny of a thorough scientific investigation.[1] Even group marriage, which appears from exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship to have succeeded promiscuity as the next stage of progress, has left few traces of itself anywhere but in Australia, where in a restricted form it has been practised by a number of tribes down to modern times.

Group marriage among the Chuckchees and Herero.

In our survey of totemism we have indeed met with what has been described by competent and independent observers as regular systems of group marriage among the Chuckchees of North-East Asia and the Herero of South-West Africa.[2] But such cases are too isolated to allow us to lay much stress on them. They may spring from purely local and temporary circumstances rather than from such general and permanent causes as would alone suffice to explain the prevalence of group marriage over the vast area now occupied by the exogamous and classificatory peoples.

[1] On this subject I agree with L. H. Morgan, who says (*Ancient Society*, p. 502): "It is not probable that any people within the time of recorded human observation have lived in a state of promiscuous intercourse like the gregarious animals. The perpetuation of such a people from the infancy of mankind would evidently have been impossible. The cases cited, and many others that might be added, are better explained as arising under the punaluan family, which, to the foreign observer, with limited means of observation, would afford the external indications named by these authors. Promiscuity may be deduced theoretically as a necessary condition antecedent to the consanguine family; but it lies concealed in the misty antiquity of mankind beyond the reach of positive knowledge." By "the punaluan family" Morgan means a form of group marriage which was practised in Hawaii. The unsatisfactory nature of the evidence adduced for a practice of sexual promiscuity within historical times has been rightly shewn by Dr. E. Westermarck (*History of Human Marriage*, pp. 51 *sqq.*).

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 348 *sqq.*, 366 *sq.*

Loose sexual relations in some pastoral tribes of India and Africa.

Again, very great laxity in the relations of the sexes, combined with either polyandry or something like group marriage, is known to exist among the Todas of India and the Masai and the Bahima of Africa.[1] But it is a singular fact that these three tribes are, or were till lately, purely pastoral, devoting themselves entirely to the care of their cattle and subsisting on their products. This suggests, as I have already indicated,[2] that there is something in the pastoral life that affects the relations of the sexes in a peculiar way which we do not clearly understand; for though the limitation which that mode of life necessarily imposes on the means of subsistence might naturally lead to polyandry as a device for keeping down the population, it would hardly explain the general relaxation of sexual morality which characterises these tribes. In these circumstances we cannot safely draw any general inferences as to group marriage from the practice of the Todas, the Masai, and the Bahima. Again, apparent traces of sexual communism survive in the licentious customs of various peoples,[3] but these also are too few and too isolated to allow us to give much weight to them as evidence of a former general practice of group marriage.

Traces of sexual communism in licentious customs.

Relics of group marriage are perhaps to be found in the two customs of the levirate and the sororate, that is, in the customs of marrying a deceased husband's brother and a living or deceased wife's sister.

But there are two customs of wide prevalence throughout the world which separately and in conjunction may perhaps be explained on the hypothesis that they are relics of group marriage and in particular of that form of group marriage which L. H. Morgan called the punaluan, to wit, the union of a group of husbands who are brothers with a group of wives who are sisters. The first of these customs is the world-wide rule which allows or requires a man to marry the widow of his deceased elder brother; the other is the rule which allows or requires a man to marry the younger sisters either of his living or of his deceased wife. Or, to put the same customs from the point of view of the woman, we may say that the former custom allows or requires her to marry her deceased husband's brother, and that the latter custom allows or requires her to marry the husband either of her

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 256, 265, 415 *sq.*, 538 *sq.*

[2] Above, vol. ii. p. 539.

[3] See above, vol. ii. pp. 129, 145 *sqq.*, 403, 602 *sq.*, 638 *sq.*, iii. 472.

living or of her deceased sister. The former custom has long been known under the name of the *levirate*, from the Latin *levir*, "a husband's brother"; the latter custom, which has received very little attention, has no distinctive name, but on analogy I propose to call it the *sororate*, from the Latin *soror*, "a sister." The two customs are in fact correlative; they present in all probability two sides of one original custom, and it is convenient to give them corresponding names.

The custom of the sororate, that is, the right to marry a wife's younger sisters either in her lifetime or after her death, is observed by many tribes of North American Indians.

The practice of the levirate, or the custom which gives a younger brother the right of marrying his deceased elder brother's widow, is so familiar and has been so fully exemplified in the preceding volumes of this work[1] that it would be superfluous to dwell upon it here. But the correlative practice of the sororate, or the custom which gives a man the right of marrying his wife's younger sisters either in her lifetime or after her death, has been so little noticed that it may be well not only to recall some of the instances of it which we have already met with, but to illustrate it with some fresh examples for the sake of shewing the wide prevalence of the custom and its importance in the history of marriage. Its significance in this respect was first pointed out by L. H. Morgan, whose attention was pointedly drawn to it by finding it observed in about forty tribes of North American Indians.[2] Accordingly we

[1] See the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Levirate."

[2] L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 432: "One custom may be cited of unmistakable punaluan origin, which is still recognized in at least forty North American Indian tribes. Where a man married the eldest daughter of a family he became entitled by custom to all her sisters as wives when they attained the marriageable age. It was a right seldom enforced, from the difficulty, on the part of the individual, of maintaining several families, although polygamy was recognized universally as a privilege of the males. We find in this the remains of the custom of *punalua* among their remote ancestors. Undoubtedly there was a time among them when own sisters went into the marriage relation on the basis of their sisterhood; the husband of one being the husband of all, but not the only husband, for other males were joint husbands with him in the group. After the punaluan family fell out, the right remained with the husband of the eldest sister to become the husband of all her sisters if he chose to claim it. It may with reason be regarded as a genuine survival of the ancient punaluan custom." The term punaluan, which Morgan applied to a certain form of group marriage, is derived from the Hawaiian word *pŭnalŭa*, signifying a marriage relationship, which is defined as follows in a letter written to L. H. Morgan in 1860 by Judge Lorin Andrews of Honolulu: "The relationship of *pŭnalŭa* is rather amphibious. It arose

shall begin with examples of the custom drawn from these tribes.

Examples of the sororate among the Indian tribes of North America.

A writer of the eighteenth century, speaking of the Indians in the neighbourhood of the great lakes, says: "It is not uncommon for an Indian to marry two sisters; sometimes, if there happen to be more, the whole number; and notwithstanding this (as it appears to civilized nations) unnatural union, they all live in the greatest harmony."[1] Another writer, referring to the Indians of the south-western deserts, observes that "in general, when an Indian wishes to have many wives he chooses above all others, if he can, sisters, because he thinks he can thus secure more domestic peace."[2] The general practice, as defined by L. H. Morgan, is that "when a man marries the eldest daughter he becomes, by that act, entitled to each and all of her sisters as wives when they severally attain the marriageable age. The option rests with him, and he may enforce the claim, or yield it to another."[3]

The sororate among the Indians of the great prairies.

That the custom prevailed especially among the Indians of the great plains or prairies we learn from a well-informed writer, who says that "with the plains tribes, and perhaps with others, the man who marries the eldest of several daughters has prior claim upon her unmarried sisters."[4] Thus among the Osages "polygamy is usual; for it is a custom that, when a savage asks a girl in marriage and gets her to wife, not only she but all her sisters belong to him and are regarded as his wives. It is a great glory among them to have several."[5] As to the Potawattamies we are informed that "it was usual for them, when an Indian married one of several sisters, to consider him as wedded to all; and it became incumbent upon him to take them all as wives. The marrying of a brother's

from the fact that two or more brothers with their wives, or two or more sisters with their husbands, were inclined to possess each other in common; but the modern use of the word is that of *dear friend*, or *intimate companion*." See L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, p. 427.

[1] J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, Third Edition (London, 1781), p. 367.

[2] E. Domenech, *Seven Years' Residence in the Great Deserts of North America* (London, 1860), ii. 306.

[3] L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 477 *sq.*

[4] J. Mooney, "Myths of the Cherokee," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1900) p. 491.

[5] *Annales de l'Association de la propagation de la Foi*, No. v. (Mars, 1825) (Second Edition, Lyons and Paris, 1829) p. 56.

widow was not interdicted, but was always looked upon as a very improper connexion."[1] It is curious thus to find in the same tribe the sororate obligatory and the levirate discountenaced, though not forbidden. More usually the two correlative customs are equally observed by the same people. This, for instance, is true of the Blackfeet Indians, amongst whom all the younger sisters of a man's wife were regarded as his wives, if he chose to take them; and when a man died his eldest brother had the right to marry the widow or widows.[2] Similarly among the Kansas all a wife's sisters were destined to be her husband's wives, and when a man died his eldest brother took the widow to wife without any ceremony, removing her and her children, whom he regarded as his own, to his house.[3] So with the Minnetarees or Hidatsas, a man who marries the eldest of several sisters has a claim to the others as they grow up, and he generally marries them; further, a man usually takes to wife the widow of his deceased brother.[4] So too with the Apaches, a man will marry his wife's younger sisters as fast as they grow up, and he likewise weds the widow of his deceased brother.[5] Amongst the Mandans, when a man married an eldest daughter he had a right to all her sisters;[6] and similarly amongst the Crows, if a man married the eldest daughter of a family he had a right to marry all her younger sisters when they grew up, even in the lifetime of his first wife, their eldest sister.[7] The customs of the Arapahoes in this respect are especially worthy of attention. Amongst them "a wife's next younger sister, if of marriageable age, is sometimes given to her husband if his brother-in-law likes him. Sometimes the husband asks and pays for his wife's younger sister. This may be done several times if she has several sisters. If his wife has no sister, a cousin (also called 'sister') is sometimes given to him. When a woman

[1] W. H. Keating, *Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River* (London, 1825), i. 111.

[2] See above, vol. iii. p. 85. By "the eldest brother" is probably meant only the eldest surviving brother, not the first-born of all the brothers. For the usual rule is that only a younger brother may marry his deceased brother's widow.

[3] See above, vol. iii. p. 127. As to the "eldest brother," see the preceding note.

[4] See above, vol. iii. p. 148.

[5] See above, vol. iii. p. 246.

[6] See above, vol. iii. p. 136.

[7] See above, vol. iii. p. 154.

dies, her husband marries her sister. When a man dies, his brother sometimes marries his wife. He is expected to do so."[1] In this tribe, although apparently a man can no longer claim his wife's younger sisters as a right in his wife's lifetime, on the other hand he seems regularly to marry his deceased wife's sister, just as he is expected to marry his deceased brother's widow. The two customs are strictly analogous. And just as the custom of marrying a deceased wife's sister is doubtless derived from the custom of marrying her other sisters in her lifetime, so by analogy we may reasonably infer that the custom of marrying a deceased brother's wife is derived from an older custom of sharing a brother's wives in the brother's lifetime. But to this point we shall return presently.

The sororate among the Indians of California and Oregon.

The custom of the sororate is by no means confined to the Indians of the great prairies. Perhaps the rudest of all the Indian tribes of North America were the aborigines of the Californian Peninsula, and among them, "before they were baptized, each man took as many wives as he liked, and if there were several sisters in a family he married them all together."[2] Further to the north, at Monterey in California, it was likewise the custom for a man to marry all the sisters of one family.[3] Still further to the north, among the Maidus, another Californian tribe, a man had a

[1] A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, p. 14 (*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. xviii. Part i. New York, 1902).

[2] J. Baegert, "An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Californian Peninsula," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the Year 1863*, p. 368. This J. Baegert was a German Jesuit missionary who lived among these savages for seventeen years during the second half of the eighteenth century. Some passages from his account (*l.c.*) of their marriage customs may be quoted: "The son-in-law was not allowed, for some time, to look into the face of his mother-in-law or his wife's next female relations, but had to step aside, or to hide himself, when these women were present. Yet they did not pay much attention to consanguinity, and only a few years since, one of them counted his own daughter (as he believed) among the number of his wives. . . . They lived, in fact, before the establishment of the mission in their country, in utter licentiousness, and adultery was daily committed by every one without shame and without any fear, the feeling of jealousy being unknown to them. Neighbouring tribes visited each other very often only for the purpose of spending some days in open debauchery, and during such times a general prostitution prevailed." It is interesting to find the avoidance of a wife's mother, with its implied disapprobation of incest, practised among savages whose sexual relations in general seem to have been very loose.

[3] La Pérouse, *Voyage*, ii. 303, quoted by H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 388, note [121].

right to marry his wife's sisters, and, very significantly, if he did not exercise his right, it passed to his brother. Moreover, it was usual for him to marry the widow of his deceased brother.[1] Passing still further northwards we come to the tribes of Oregon, the Flatheads, Nez Percés, Spokans, Walla-wallas, Cayuse, and Waskows, and "with all of them, marrying the eldest daughter entitles a man to the rest of the family, as they grow up. If a wife dies, her sister or some of the connexion, if younger than the deceased, is regarded as destined to marry him. Cases occur in which, upon the death of a wife (after the period of mourning . . . expires), her younger sister, though the wife of another man, is claimed, and she deserts her husband and goes to the disconsolate widower. The right of a man is recognised, to put away his wife, and take a new one, even the sister of the discarded one, if he thinks proper. The parents do not seem to object to a man's turning off one sister, and taking a younger one—the lordly prerogative, as imperious as that of a sultan, being a custom handed down from time immemorial."[2] The right to marry a wife's sister must indeed be a strong one when it is thus able to supersede the existing right of the husband in possession. Further, we see that among these Indians of Oregon the right to marry a deceased wife's sister is merely a consequence of the right to marry the sisters in the wife's lifetime. Similarly, still further to the north, among the Crees or Knisteneaux, "when a man loses his wife, it is considered as a duty to marry her sister, if she has one; or he may, if he pleases, have them both at the same time."[3] And amongst the Northern Tinnehs, who border on the Eskimo in the far north, men make no scruple of having two or three sisters for wives at one time.[4] Similarly among the Kaviaks of Alaska "incest is not uncommon, and two or three wives, often sisters, are taken by those who can afford to support them."[5] Far away from those icy regions the Caribs

The sororate among the Crees, the Northern Tinnehs, and the Kaviaks.

[1] See above, vol. iii. p. 498.

[2] Major B. Alvord, "Concerning the Manners and Customs, the Superstitions, etc., of the Indians of Oregon," in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 654 *sq.*

[3] A. Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America* (London, 1801), pp. xcvi. *sq.*

[4] See above, vol. iii. p. 354.

[5] W. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 138.

practised similar marriage customs under tropical suns. "Very often," we are told, "the same man will take to wife three or four sisters, who will be his cousins-german or his nieces. They maintain that having been brought up together the women will love each other the more, will live in a better understanding, will help each other more readily, and, what is most advantageous for him, will serve him better."[1] Again, among the few cases of polygamy which Sir R. Schomburgk found among the Macusis of British Guiana was one of an Indian who had three sisters to wife.[2]

The sororate among the Caribs and Macusis.

Similar customs are observed in other parts of the world. Thus in Africa among the Zulus a man often marries two sisters, and it is the ordinary practice for him to wed his deceased brother's wife.[3] Among the Bantu tribes of Kavirondo a man has the right to marry all his wife's younger sisters as they come of age; they may not be given in marriage to any one until he has declined their hands.[4] Among the Basoga it was customary for a wife to induce her sister or sisters to come and live with her and become wives of her husband.[5] Among the Banyoro there are no restrictions on marriage with several sisters; a man may marry two or more sisters at the same time. Moreover, if his wife dies, he expects her parents to furnish him with one of her sisters to replace the dead wife. Also if his wife proves barren, he may demand one of her sisters in marriage.[6] Thus, like some Indian tribes of North America, the Banyoro practise marriage with the sister both of a living and of a deceased wife. In Madagascar it is said to be customary for a man to receive, along with his wife, her younger sisters in marriage.[7]

The sororate in Africa and Madagascar.

In Southern India a Kuruba man may marry two sisters, either on the death of one of them, or if the first wife is barren or suffers from an incurable disease.[8] Among the Medaras of the Madras Presidency a man often marries two

The sororate in India.

[1] Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique*, Nouvelle édition (Paris, 1742), ii. 77 *sq.*

[2] R. Schomburgk (Leipsic, 1847-1848), *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana*, ii. 318.

[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 384.

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 451.

[5] See above, vol. ii. p. 461.

[6] See above, vol. ii. p. 522. Compare vol. ii. pp. 453 and 463 as to the Bageshu and Bateso.

[7] Th. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, ii. 438.

[8] See above, vol. ii. p. 245.

sisters if one of them is sickly, and marriage with a deceased wife's sister is regarded with especial favour.[1] Again a Bestha man may wed two sisters, but the custom is not recommended, and he is positively forbidden to marry his deceased brother's widow.[2] Among the Saoras of Madras it is said to be common for a man to marry his wife's sister, and the two sisters so married live together till a child is born, after which they must separate. The Saoras also practise the levirate in its usual form—that is, a younger brother generally marries the widow of his deceased elder brother; if he is too young for marriage, the widow waits for him till he is grown up.[3] Among the inhabitants of the hills near Rajamahall a man may marry his wife's sisters, and he may take to wife the widow of his deceased elder brother.[4] Among the Garos of Assam polygamy is allowed and a man may marry two sisters, but in that case he must marry the elder before the younger.[5]

The sororate in Australia, Oceania, and Asia.

Some tribes of Queensland and North-West Australia allow a man to marry two or more sisters.[6] In Samoa "it was a common practice in the olden days for a woman to take her sister or sisters with her, and these were practically the concubines of the husband."[7] In the Mortlock Islands custom assigned to a husband, along with his wife, all her free sisters, but only chiefs availed themselves of the privilege.[8] Among the Fijians a man was not allowed to pick and choose in a family of sisters; if he married one of them he was bound in honour to marry them all.[9] Among the Rodes, a savage tribe of hunters in the mountains of Cambodia, polygamy is in vogue, and a man who has married the eldest daughter of a family has an acknowledged

[1] See above, vol. ii. p. 250.

[2] See above, vol. ii. p. 272.

[3] F. Fawcett, "On the Saoras (or Savaras), an Aboriginal Hill People of the Eastern Ghats of the Madras Presidency," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, i. (1886) pp. 231, 234 *sq.*

[4] Lieutenant Thomas Shaw, "The Inhabitants of the Hills near Rajamahall," *Asiatic Researches*, Fourth Edition, iv. (London, 1807) pp. 59, 60.

[5] Major A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), p. 69.

[6] See above, vol. i. pp. 572, 577 n[2].

[7] Rev. George Brown, D.D., *Melanesians and Polynesians, their Life Histories Illustrated and Compared*, p. 116 (type-written copy).

[8] J. Kubary, "Die Bewohner der Mortlock-Inseln," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg*, 1878-79, p. 37 (separate reprint).

[9] See above, vol. ii. p. 143.

right to marry all her younger sisters; they may not wed anybody else without his consent.[1] Lastly, among the Kamtchatkans a man often marries two sisters either at the same time or one after the death of the other; and when a husband dies, his surviving brother marries the widow, whether he already has a wife or not.[2]

In some tribes the sororate is only practised after the death of the first wife; that is, a man may marry the sister of his deceased, but not of his living, wife.

Thus the custom which allows a man the right of marrying his wife's younger sisters in her lifetime appears to be very widespread, and often it is supplemented by a permission to marry them after her death. But among some peoples, though a husband is allowed or even obliged to marry his wife's sisters, one after the other, when she is dead, he is no longer permitted to marry them during her lifetime. Thus amongst the Koryaks of North-Eastern Asia a man may not marry the sister of his living wife, but he is obliged to marry his deceased wife's younger sister, though he is forbidden to marry her elder sister. Similarly, a Koryak widow is bound to marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but is forbidden to marry his elder brother.[3] So among the Ramaiyas, a pedlar class of North-Western India, a man may not have two sisters to wife at the same time, but there is no rule against his marrying his deceased wife's younger sister.[4] In like manner among the Oswals, a trading class of the same region, a man is forbidden to marry his deceased wife's elder sister, but allowed to marry her younger sister.[5] The Cheremiss of Russia will not marry two sisters at the same time, but they are pleased to marry one after the other.[6] Among the Battas of Sumatra, if a wife dies childless, her husband has the right to marry her sisters successively, one after the other, without having to pay another bride-price for them to the parents; if the parents refuse their consent to the new marriage, the widower may demand the restitution of the price he paid for his first wife.[7] In the island of Engano a widower

[1] J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), i. 426, 427, 428.

[2] G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka* (Frankfort and Leipsic, 1774), p. 347.

[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 352.

[4] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iv. 224.

[5] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* iv. 99.

[6] J. G. Georgi, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des russischen Reichs* (St. Petersburg, 1776-1780), i. 31.

[7] C. J. Temminck, *Coup d'œil général sur les possessions néerland-*

usually marries his deceased wife's sister; but if he fails to do so, we are told, he has not to pay a fine for culpable negligence.[1] In the Louisiade Archipelago, to the east of New Guinea, when a woman dies her husband may take her unmarried sister to wife without any fresh payment, and she may not refuse him. But if he does not care to marry her, and she marries somebody else, her husband must pay the bride-price to her dead sister's husband instead of to her own people. Yet though a man may, and indeed should, marry his deceased wife's sister, he ought not to approach her closely or hold prolonged conversation with her during his wife's lifetime, nor should he speak to her alone in the forest; if he does so, she might tell her sister, his wife, who would thereupon think she had cause for jealousy, and a domestic quarrel might be the result. In this case the ceremonial avoidance of the wife's sister in the lifetime of the wife is clearly a precaution to prevent an improper intimacy between the two. Further, in the Louisiades the correlative custom of the levirate is also in vogue; that is, a man has the right to marry his deceased brother's widow, after she has completed her term of mourning.[2] Among the Wabemba, a tribe on the western shore of Lake Tanganyika in Africa, when a man's wife dies he has the right to marry her younger sister, if she is still unmarried. But if all his deceased wife's sisters are married, the widower sends a present to the husband of his late wife's younger sister, and the woman is ceded to him by her husband for a single day; so strong is the claim of the widower on his deceased wife's sisters. The Wabemba practise the levirate as well as the sororate; when a man dies his oldest brother marries the widow.[3] Among the Iroquois a man was bound to marry his deceased wife's sister or, in default of a sister, such other woman as the family of his deceased wife might provide for him. If he failed to do his duty by

Avoidance of wife's sister in wife's lifetime.

aises dans l'Inde Archipélagique (Leyden, 1847), ii. 55.

[1] J. Winkler, "Bericht über die zweite Untersuchungsreise nach der Insel Engano," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, L (1908), p. 152.

[2] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 738 *sq.*

[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 630. By "oldest brother" is probably meant the eldest surviving brother. See above, p. 142 n[2].

marrying her, he exposed himself to the fluent invective of the injured woman. In like manner, when his brother died, an Iroquois man had no choice but to marry the widow.[1] Among the Omahas a man sometimes marries his deceased wife's sister in obedience to the express wish of his dying wife; and a brother is as usual yoked in matrimony to his deceased brother's widow.[2] Among the Biloxi a man might marry his deceased wife's sister, and a woman might marry her deceased husband's brother, but it is not said that as among the Iroquois such marriages were obligatory.[3] Lastly, among the Pima Indians it was customary for a widower to wed his deceased wife's sister.[4]

Many more cases of the same sort might no doubt be collected, but the preceding instances suffice to prove that in the opinion of many peoples a man has a natural right, sometimes amounting to an obligation, to marry all his wife's younger sisters either in his wife's lifetime or after her decease. Among some tribes the right is exercised both during the life and after the death of the first wife; among other tribes it is exercised only after her death, but in these cases we can hardly doubt that the restriction is a comparatively late modification of an older custom which allowed a man to marry the sisters of his living as well as of his deceased wife. But if the sororate, limited to the right of marrying a deceased wife's sister, is almost certainly derived from an older right of marrying a living wife's sister, it becomes highly probable that the world-wide custom of the levirate, which requires a woman to marry her deceased husband's brother, is in like manner derived from an older right of marrying her living husband's brother; and as the two customs of the sororate and the levirate are commonly practised by the same peoples we seem to be justified in concluding that they are two sides of a single ancient institution, to wit, a practice of group-marriage in which a group of brothers married a group of sisters and held their wives in common. Among the Central Australian tribes it still happens not infrequently

Taken together, the customs of the levirate and the sororate point to a former custom of group-marriage, in accordance with which a group of brothers married a group of sisters and held their wives in common.

[1] See above, vol. iii. p. 19.

[2] See above, vol. iii. p. 108.

[3] See above, vol. iii. p. 155.

[4] Frank Russel, "The Pima Indians," *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1908), p. 184.

that the sisters of one family are all married to the brothers of another family;[1] and although this is not group-marriage, since each brother has only one sister to wife, it may well be a relic of an older custom in which a group of husbands, who were brothers, held in common a group of wives, who were sisters. In point of fact group-marriage of this sort still occurs among the Todas of Southern India, whose marriage customs, as we have seen,[2] are very primitive. "Their practice is this: all brothers of one family, be they many or few, live in mixed and incestuous cohabitation with one or more wives. If there be four or five brothers, and one of them, being old enough, gets married, his wife claims all the other brothers as her husbands, and as they successively attain manhood, she consorts with them; or if the wife has one or more younger sisters, they in turn, on attaining a marriageable age, become the wives of their sister's husband or husbands, and thus in a family of several brothers, there may be, according to circumstances, only one wife for them all, or many; but, one or more, they all live under one roof, and cohabit promiscuously, just as fancy or taste inclines. Owing, however, to the great scarcity of women in this tribe, it more frequently happens that a single woman is wife to several husbands, sometimes as many as six."[3] But while the customs of the levirate and the sororate thus appear to be correlative, both together testifying to an ancient and widespread custom of group-marriage which has for the most part passed away, they have in practice diverged somewhat from each other at the present time, the levirate only operating after the death of the first husband, the sororate operating both during the life and after the death of the first wife. The reason of the divergence may be, as I have already suggested,[4] the greater strength of jealousy in men than in women which prompted men to refuse to share their wives with their brothers, while women were, and are

While the levirate and the sororate are correlative customs, they have diverged from each other in practice.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 559: "Not infrequently a woman's daughters will be allotted to brothers, the elder brother taking the elder daughter, the second brother the second daughter, and so on."

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 256, 264 *sq.*

[3] J. Shortt, M.D., "An Account of the Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) p. 240.

[4] Vol. ii. p. 144.

still often, quite willing to share their husbands with their sisters.

On these grounds, therefore, it appears to be a reasonable hypothesis that at least a large part of mankind has passed through the stage of group-marriage in its progress upward from a still lower stage of sexual promiscuity to a higher stage of monogamy. Apart from the customs to which I have just called attention and the traces of a wider freedom formerly accorded to the sexes in their relations with each other, the two great landmarks of group-marriage are exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship, which, as I have attempted to shew, are inseparably united and must stand or fall together as evidence of an ancient system of communal marriage.

Thus a large part of mankind appears to have passed through the stages of sexual promiscuity and group-marriage.

But exogamy and the classificatory system of relationship are, roughly speaking, confined to the lower races of mankind: they form a clear and trenchant line between savagery and civilisation.[1] Almost the only civilised race which, so to say, stands astride this great border-line are the Aryan Hindoos, who possess the system of exogamy without the classificatory system of relationship.[2] Whether they have

There is no clear evidence that the great civilised races, the Aryans and the Semites,

[1] Compare L. H. Morgan, *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, p. 470: "When it is considered that the domestic relationships of the entire human family, so far as the latter is represented in the Tables, fall under the descriptive or the classificatory form, and that they are the reverse of each other in their fundamental conceptions, it furnishes a significant separation of the families of mankind into two great divisions. Upon one side are the Aryan, Semitic and Uralian, and upon the other the Ganowanian, the Turanian and the Malayan, which gives nearly the line of demarcation between the civilized and uncivilized nations. Although both forms are older than civilization, it tends to show that the family, as now constituted, and which grew out of the development of a knowledge of property, of its uses, and of its transmission by inheritance, lies at the foundation of the first civilization of mankind."

[2] To them may perhaps be added the Singhalese who, speaking a language which appears to be Aryan, nevertheless possess the classificatory system of relationship. But the Singhalese appear not to be Aryans by blood. See above, vol. ii. pp. 333-335. Further, the Albanians are said to be exogamous. See Miss M. E. Durham, reported in *The Athenaeum*, No. 4297, 5th March 1910, p. 283: "High Albania is the only spot in Europe in which the tribal system exists intact. The tribes occupy the mountain land which forms the north-west corner of Turkey in Europe. They are exogamous, but male blood only counts. Each tribe is ruled by a council of elders, by ancient laws handed down by oral tradition, which are strictly enforced. . . . Among other very ancient customs, the Levirate is still practised, even by many of the Roman Catholic tribes. Blood revenge is extremely prevalent. . . . Communal families of as many as forty members live together in one room, ruled by the house lord, who has often power

have as a whole practised exogamy and counted kinship according to the classificatory system of relationship; hence it is not necessary to suppose that they have passed through the stages of sexual promiscuity and group-marriage.

inherited exogamy from the common ancestors of the whole Aryan family or have borrowed it from the dark-skinned aborigines of India, with whom they have been in contact for thousands of years, is a question of the highest interest not merely for the history of the Aryans in particular, but for the history of human marriage in general; since if it could be made probable that the whole Aryan family had once passed through the stage of exogamy, with its natural accompaniment the classificatory system of relationship, it would become difficult to resist the conclusion that exogamy, with all its implications of group-marriage and a preceding custom of sexual promiscuity, had once been universal among mankind. But in the absence of proof that the Semites and the Aryans in general ever practised exogamy and counted kinship on the classificatory system we are not justified in concluding that these institutions have at one time been common to the whole human race. Nor, apart from the want of direct evidence, does there appear to be any reason in the nature of things why these institutions should be necessary stages in the social evolution of every people. The object of exogamy, as I have attempted to shew, was to prevent the marriage of near kin, especially the marriage of brothers with sisters and of mothers with sons; and it seems perfectly possible that some peoples may have achieved this object directly by a simple prohibition of consanguineous marriages without resorting to that expedient of dividing the whole community into two intermarrying classes, from which the vast and cumbrous system of exogamy and the classificatory relationships grew by a logical development. The history of exogamy is the history first of a growing and afterwards of a decaying scrupulosity as to the marriage of near kin. With every fresh scruple a fresh bar was erected between the sexes, till the barriers reach their greatest known height in the eight-class system of the Australian aborigines, which practically shuts the door for every man upon seven-eighths of the women of the community. Whether any tribes ever carried their scruples still further and reduced within even narrower limits the

The rise and decay of exogamy.

of life and death over his subjects. Marriage is always by purchase, save for an occasional forcible capture. Children are betrothed in infancy."

number of a man's possible wives is not known; and if there ever were such tribes they probably perished either from the mere difficulty of propagating their kind under these too elaborate restrictions, or because their ever-dwindling numbers could not resist the pressure of less scrupulous and faster breeding neighbours. Having reached its culminating point in bloated systems of eight classes and the like, exogamy begins to decline. The exogamy of the classes was the first to go, leaving behind it the far less extensive and therefore far less burdensome exogamy of the clans, whether totemic or otherwise. It is in this greatly shrunken form, shorn of its original classes, that the institution is still found in the great majority of exogamous peoples outside of Australia. The last stage of decay is reached when the exogamy of the clan breaks down also, and henceforth marriage is regulated by the prohibited degrees alone.

The great civilised races may always have contented themselves with prohibiting incest without embodying that prohibition in a system of exogamy.

Now it is quite possible that the great civilised families of mankind, who now regulate marriage only by the prohibited degrees of kinship, have run through this course of social development and decay in the remote past. They may at one time in their history, not necessarily the earliest, have practised sexual promiscuity, have felt a growing aversion to the marriage of near kin, have embodied that aversion in a system of exogamy, and finally, discarding that system with its exaggerations, have reverted to a simple prohibition of the marriage of persons closely related by blood.[1] But it is not necessary to suppose that they have followed this long roundabout road merely to return to the point from which they started. They may always have confined themselves to a simple prohibition of the incestuous unions which they abhorred.

However that may be, it is probable that the aversion to

Whether that be so or not, it appears highly probable that the aversion which most civilised races have entertained to incest or the marriage of near kin has been derived by them through a long series of ages from their savage

[1] L. H. Morgan thought it probable that the Aryan and Semitic peoples have passed through the stages of group-marriage and the classificatory system of relationship. See his *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity*, pp. 492 *sq.*; *Ancient Society*, pp. 413, 429.

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incest has everywhere been inherited from savage ancestors. Why did savages abhor and prohibit incest or the marriage of near kin? We cannot tell.

ancestors; for there is no evidence or probability that the aversion is a thing of recent growth, a product of advanced civilisation. Even therefore though the primitive forefathers of the Semites and the Aryans may have known nothing either of totemism or of exogamy, we may with some confidence assume that they disapproved of incest and that their disapprobation has been inherited by their descendants to this day. Thus the abhorrence of incest, which is the essence of exogamy, goes back in the history of mankind to a period of very rude savagery; and we may fairly suppose that, whether it has been embodied in a system of exogamy or not, it has everywhere originated in the same primitive modes of thought and feeling. What, then, are the primitive modes of thought and feeling which gave rise to the abhorrence of incest? Why, in other words, did rude and ignorant savages come to regard with strong disapprobation the cohabitation of brothers with sisters and of parents with children? We do not know and it is difficult even to guess. None of the answers yet given to these questions appears to be satisfactory. It cannot have been that primitive savages forbade incest because they perceived it to be injurious to the offspring; for down to our own time the opinions of scientific men have differed on the question whether the closest inbreeding, in other words, the highest degree of incest, is injurious or not to the progeny. "The evil results from close interbreeding," says Darwin, "are difficult to detect, for they accumulate slowly, and differ much in degree with different species, whilst the good effects which almost invariably follow a cross are from the first manifest";[1] and it may be added that the evil effects of inbreeding, if they exist, are necessarily more difficult to detect in man than in most other species of animals because mankind breeds so slowly. With quick-breeding animals like fowls, where the generations follow each other in rapid succession, it is possible to observe the good or ill effects of inbreeding and outbreeding in a short time. But with the human race, even if we were perfectly free to make experiments in breeding, many years would necessarily elapse before the

It cannot have been that savages forbade incest because they perceived it to be injurious to the offspring; for the evil results of inbreeding are difficult to detect, and even now scientific men are not agreed about them.

[1] Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, Popular Edition (London, 1905), ii. 113.

effect of these experiments would be clearly manifested. Accordingly we cannot suppose that any harmful consequences of inbreeding have been observed by savages and have provided them with the motive for instituting exogamy. All that we know of the ignorance and improvidence of savages confirms the observation of Darwin that they "are not likely to reflect on distant evils to their progeny."[1] Indeed the improbability that primitive man should have regulated the relations of the sexes by elaborate rules intended to avert the evil effects of inbreeding on the offspring has been greatly increased since Darwin wrote by the remarkable discovery that some of the most primitive of existing races, who observe the strictest of all systems of exogamy, are entirely ignorant of the causal relation which exists between the intercourse of the sexes and the birth of offspring. The ignorance which thus characterises these backward tribes was no doubt at one time universal amongst mankind and must have been shared by the savage founders of exogamy. But if they did not know that children are the fruit of marriage, it is difficult to see how they could have instituted an elaborate system of marriage for the express purpose of benefiting the children. In short, the idea that the abhorrence of incest originally sprang from an observation of its injurious effects on the offspring may safely be dismissed as baseless.

Nor apparently can the founders of exogamy have imagined that incest is injurious to the guilty persons themselves; for there is very little evidence that savages

But if the founders of exogamy did not believe that the cohabitation of the nearest blood relations is detrimental to the progeny, can they have believed that it is detrimental to the parents themselves; in other words, can they have thought that the mere act of sexual intercourse with a near relative is in itself, quite apart from any social consequences or moral sentiments, physically injurious to one or both of the actors? I formerly thought that this may have been so and was accordingly inclined to look for the ultimate origin of exogamy or the prohibition of incest in a superstition of this sort, a baseless fear that incest was of itself injurious to the incestuous couple.[2] But there are serious and indeed, as it now seems to me, conclusive objections to this

[1] Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 127.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 165.

attribute any such injurious effects to the crime.

view.[1] For in the first place there is very little evidence that savages conceive the sexual intercourse of near kin to be harmful to the persons who engage in it. The Navahoes, indeed, think that if they married women of their own clan their bones would dry up and they would die;[2] and the Baganda are of opinion that if a man and woman of the same clan should marry each other (which sometimes happens accidentally through ignorance of their relationship) they will suffer from tremor of the limbs and a breaking out of sores on the body which would end in death if the incestuous union were not dissolved.[3] But not much stress can be laid on this superstition of the Baganda, since the same natural penalty is believed by them to be entailed by any breach of taboo, such as the eating of the totemic animal or contact between a father-in-law and a daughter-in-law.[4] Had the dread of harm caused by incestuous unions to the parties themselves been the origin of exogamy, it seems probable that the dread would have been peculiarly deep and general among the Australian aborigines, who of all mankind practise exogamy in its most rigid forms. Yet so far as I know these savages are not said to be actuated by any such fear in observing their complex exogamous rules.

Further, the great severity with which incest is generally punished by savages seems to shew that they believe it to be a crime which endangers the whole community rather than

But the mere general want of evidence is not the most conclusive argument against the theory in question; for unfortunately the records which we possess of savage life are so imperfect that it is never safe to argue from the silence of the record to the absence of the thing. In short mere negative evidence, always a broken reed, is perhaps nowhere so broken and treacherous a prop for an argument as in anthropology. Conclusions laid down with confidence one day on the strength of a mere negation may be upset the next day by the discovery of a single positive fact. Accordingly it is perfectly possible that a belief in the injurious effects of incest on the persons who engage in it may in fact

[1] These objections have been indicated by Mr. Andrew Lang. His observations on the point are perfectly just, and I have profited by them. See his article, "The Totem Taboo and Exogamy," *Man*, vi. (1906) pp. 130 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. iii. p. 243.

[3] This I learn from my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe.

[4] This also I learn from the Rev. J. Roscoe. Compare above, vol. ii. pp. 473, 509.

be common among savages, though at present very few cases of it have been reported. A more formidable objection to the theory which would base exogamy on such a belief is drawn from the extreme severity with which in most exogamous tribes breaches of exogamy have been punished by the community. The usual penalty for such offences is death inflicted on both the culprits.[1] Now if people had thought that incest injured the incestuous persons themselves and nobody else, society might well have been content to leave the sinners to suffer the natural and inevitable consequences of their sin. Why should it step in and say, "You have hurt yourselves, therefore we will put you to death"? It may be laid down as an axiom applicable to all states of society that society only punishes social offences, that is offences which are believed to be injurious, not necessarily to the individual offenders, but to the community at large; and the severer the punishment meted out to them, the deeper the injury they must be supposed to inflict on the commonwealth. But society cannot inflict any penalty heavier than death; therefore capital crimes must be those which are thought to be most dangerous and detrimental to the whole body of the people. From this it follows that in commonly punishing breaches of exogamy, or in short incest, with death, exogamous tribes must be of opinion that the offence is a most serious injury to the whole community. Only thus can we reasonably explain the horror which incest usually excites among them and the extreme rigour with which they visit it even to the extermination of the culprits.

simply the guilty parties themselves.

What then can be the great social wrong which was supposed to result from incest? how were the guilty persons believed to endanger the whole tribe by their crime? A possible answer is that the intercourse of near kin was thought to render the women of the tribe sterile and to endanger the common food-supply by preventing edible animals from multiplying and edible plants from growing; in short, that the effect of incest was supposed to be sterility of women, animals, and plants. Such beliefs appear in point of fact to have been held by many races in different parts of the world. The idea that sexual crime

Now many races believe that the effect of incest and of sexual crime in general is to make women barren and to prevent animals and plants from multiplying.

[1] See the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Unlawful Marriages."

in general and incest in particular blights the crops is common among peoples of the Malayan stock in the Indian Archipelago and their kinsfolk in Indo-China; but it is also strongly held by some natives of West Africa, and there are grounds for thinking that similar notions as to the injurious influence of incest on women and cattle as well as on the corn prevailed among the primitive Semites and the primitive Aryans, including the ancient Greeks, the ancient Latins, and the ancient Irish. The evidence has been collected by me elsewhere.[1] Now if any such beliefs were entertained by the founders of exogamy, they would clearly have been perfectly sufficient motives for instituting the system, for they would perfectly explain the horror with which incest has been regarded and the extreme severity with which it has been punished. You cannot do men a deeper injury than by preventing their women from bearing children and by stopping their supply of food; for by doing the first you hinder them from propagating their kind, and by doing the second you menace them with death. The most serious dangers, therefore, that can threaten any community are that its women should bear no children and that it may have nothing to eat; and crimes which imperil the production of children and the supply of food deserve to be punished by any society which values its existence with the utmost rigour of the law. If therefore the savages who devised exogamy really supposed that incest prevented women from bearing children, animals from multiplying, and plants from growing, they were perfectly justified from their point of view in taking the elaborate precautions which they

If such a belief was entertained by the founders of exogamy, it would have been a perfectly sufficient motive for instituting the system.

[1] *Psyche's Task, a Discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions* (London, 1909), pp. 31-51. To the evidence there cited for the belief in ancient Ireland should be added (Sir) John Rhys's *Celtic Heathendom* (London, 1888), pp. 308 *sq.*, as my friend the author has kindly pointed out to me. The Rev. John Roscoe informs me that the pastoral tribes of Central Africa with which he is acquainted, including the Bahima, Banyoro, and Baganda, have no objection to the closest inbreeding of their cattle; they will mate brother and sister, father and daughter, mother and son without scruple. Yet they themselves practise exogamy and avoid incest. The contradiction is curious and tells rather against than for the theory, which I have suggested in the text, that exogamy may have originated in a fear of human incest blighting the edible animals and plants. It is true that the Basoga are reported to abhor incest in their cattle and to punish it (see above, vol. ii. p. 461); but Mr. Roscoe doubts whether the report is accurate.

did to prevent sexual unions which in their opinion stru[illegible] such deadly blows at the life of the community.

But was this really their belief? The only serious di[illegible] culty in the way of supposing that it was so, is the abse[illegible] of evidence that such notions are held by the most primiti[illegible] exogamous peoples, the Australian aborigines, amongst [illegible] whom we should certainly expect to find them if they had indeed been the origin of exogamy. Further, it is to be observed that all the peoples who are known to hold the beliefs in question appear to be agricultural, and what they especially dread is the sterilising effect of incest on their crops; they are not so often said to fear its sterilising effect on women and cattle, though this may be partly explained by the simple circumstance that some of these races do not keep cattle. But the savage founders of exogamy, if we may judge by the Australian aborigines of to-day, were certainly not agricultural; they did not even know that seed put in the ground will germinate and grow. Thus the known distribution of the beliefs as to the sterilising effect of incest on women, animals, and the crops, suggests that it is a product of a culture somewhat more advanced than can be ascribed to the savages who started exogamy. In fact, it might be argued, as I have argued elsewhere,[1] that all such notions as to the injurious natural consequences of incest are an effect rather than the cause of its prohibition; that is, the peoples in question may first have banned the marriage of near kin for some reasons unknown and may afterwards have become so habituated to the observance of the incest law that they regarded infractions of it as breaches of what we should call natural law and therefore as calculated to disturb the course of nature. In short, it is possible that this superstition is rather late than early, and that therefore it cannot be the root of exogamy.

[illegible] Aust[illegible] aborig[illegible] among whom, if it is indeed the origin of exogamy, the belief might be expected to flourish.

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that the chief consideration which tells against the assumption of such a superstition as the origin of exogamy is the purely negative one that no such superstition has yet, so far as I know, been found among the Australian aborigines,

Nevertheless it is possible that exogamy sprang from a

[1] *Psyche's Task*, pp. 44-47.

belief i… st… mor…gst whom on this theory it might be expected to …ish. But I have already pointed out the danger of …ying on merely negative evidence; and considering every-…ng as carefully as I can I incline, though with great …esitancy and reserve, to think that exogamy may have sprung from a belief in the injurious and especially the sterilising effects of incest, not upon the persons who engage in it, at least not upon the man, nor upon the offspring, bu upon women generally and particularly upon edible animals and plants; and I venture to conjecture that a carefu search among the most primitive exogamous peoples now surviving, especially among the Australian aborigines, migh still reveal the existence of such a belief among them. A least if that is not the origin of exogamy I must confess to being completely baffled, for I have no other conjecture to offer on the subject.

But if exogamy and the prohibition of incest have sprung from a mere superstition, does it follow that they have been evil? Not necessarily, for superstition is often a useful auxiliary of law and morality. All turns on the question whether inbreeding or outbreeding, endogamy or exogamy, is the more beneficial

But if exogamy and the prohibition of incest, which is its essence, originated in a mere superstition such as I have conjecturally indicated, would it necessarily follow that they have both been evil and injurious, in other words, that it would have been better if men had always married their nearest relations instead of taking, as they generally have taken, the greatest pains to avoid such marriages? The consequence would by no means be necessary. I have shewn elsewhere[1] that superstition has often proved a most valuable auxiliary of morality and law, that men have very often done right from the most absurd motives. It may have been so in the case of exogamy and the prohibition of incest. All turns on the question whether inbreeding or outbreeding, endogamy or exogamy is better for the species, and that is a question which can be settled only by biology; it lies quite outside the province of anthropology. So far as mankind is concerned, and it is with them alone that we have to do in this enquiry, the materials at our disposal appear to be insufficient to enable us to arrive at a definite conclusion; for amongst the peoples known to us in history outbreeding, whether in the form of exogamy or in the simple prohibition of incest, has been the practice of such an over-

[1] *Psyche's Task, a Discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions* (London, 1909).

whelming majority, and the contrary practice of inbreeding or endogamy has been followed by such a very small minority, that a fair comparison of the effects of the two practices cannot be instituted. But as mankind has apparently been evolved from lower species of animals which in like manner propagated their kinds by the union of the sexes, it is highly probable that the good or ill effects which follow from inbreeding and outbreeding, from endogamy and exogamy, in the human species, follow from them also in the lower species; and as the breeding of many of the lower animals has long been the object of careful observation and exact experiments conducted both by practical breeders and scientific men, a large body of evidence has been accumulated, from which it is possible with a considerable degree of probability to draw conclusions applicable to man. Now upon the fundamental question whether inbreeding or outbreeding, whether endogamy or exogamy, is the more beneficial in the long run, the opinions of experts appear to be divided. A writer, Mr. A. H. Huth, who carefully investigated the question with special reference to its bearing on man, reached the conclusion that the closest inbreeding or endogamy between the human sexes is not in itself injurious to the progeny, and that the evil consequences which are often supposed to flow from it are to be explained by other causes, particularly by morbid tendencies in the stock, which are naturally increased in the offspring whenever they are transmitted to it from both the parents.[1] The same view of the harmlessness of inbreeding or endogamy was held by the eminent Dutch anthropologist, Professor G. A. Wilken,[2] and apparently by the eminent

to the species. On this question the opinions of scientific men are divided. Some think that there is no harm in the closest inbreeding, that is, in the highest degree of incest.

[1] A. H. Huth, *The Marriage of Near Kin considered with respect to the Laws of Nations, the Results of Experience, and the Teachings of Biology*, Second Edition (London, 1887).

[2] G. A. Wilken, "Huwelijken tusschen Bloedverwanten," *De Gids*, 1890, No. 6. In this work (pp. 2 *sq.* of the separate reprint) Prof. Wilken quotes with approval the following passage from a French writer, M. Boudin: "*Comment, voilà des parents consanguins, pleins de force et de santé, exempts de toute infirmité appréciable, incapables de donner à leurs enfants ce qu'ils ont, et leur donnant au contraire ce qu'ils n'ont pas, ce qu'ils n'ont jamais eu, et c'est en présence de tels faits que l'on ose prononcer le mot hérédité!*" The orator appears to forget the numerous cases of hermaphrodite plants endowed with all the organs of both sexes and perfectly capable of fertilising other plants and of being fertilised by them, yet perfectly incapable of fertilising themselves, nay sometimes actually poisoning themselves by their own pollen. See Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and*

But the opinion of the best and latest authorities seems to be that inbreeding or incest is in the long run always injurious by diminishing the vigour, size, and especially the fertility of the offspring.

French anthropologist Paul Topinard.[1] But so far as I can gather their opinion is not shared by the best and most recent authorities. Thus after weighing all the available evidence as carefully as possible Darwin concludes as follows: "Finally, when we consider the various facts now given, which plainly show that good follows from crossing, and less plainly that evil follows from close interbreeding, and when we bear in mind that with very many organisms elaborate provisions have been made for the occasional union of distinct individuals, the existence of a great law of nature is almost proved; namely, that the crossing of animals and plants which are not closely related to each other is highly beneficial or even necessary, and that interbreeding prolonged during many generations is injurious."[2] The evils which Darwin believed to result from close and long interbreeding are loss of constitutional vigour, of size, and of fertility.[3] Similarly Mr. A. R. Wallace concludes: "The experiments of Mr. Darwin, showing the great and immediate good effects of a cross between distinct strains in plants, cannot be explained away; neither can the innumerable arrangements to secure cross-fertilisation by insects. . . . On the whole, then, the evidence at our command proves that, whatever may be its ultimate cause, close interbreeding *does* usually produce bad results; and it is only by the most rigid selection, whether natural or artificial, that the danger can be altogether obviated."[4]

Opinion of Mr. Walter Heape.

Again, my friend Mr. Walter Heape, F.R.S., who has made exact researches into the breeding both of men and animals, writes to me as follows: "From what you tell me of exogamy in its simplest form, *i.e.* in so far as it provides against the marriage of mother and sister and the marriage of cousins[5] (concubitants and others), it is so closely in accord

Plants under Domestication (London, 1905), ii. 139 *sqq.* The facts of nature do not always correspond to our logical expectations.

[1] P. Topinard, *L'Anthropologie*, Quatrième Édition (Paris, 1884), pp. 397 *sq.* It is also shared by M. Salomon Reinach. See his *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, i. (Paris, 1905) pp. 157 *sqq.*

[2] Charles Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 157.

[3] Ch. Darwin, *op. cit.* ii. 156.

[4] A. R. Wallace, *Darwinism, an Exposition of the Theory of Natural Selection* (London, 1889), p. 162.

[5] Mr. Heape is here under a slight misapprehension. The marriage of cousins is prevented not by the simplest

with the experience of breeders of animals that, failing a clear social reason for the law, it might be fairly assumed to have its origin in accordance with known biological phenomena. I cannot claim to be considered capable of expressing a final opinion on the subject, but I think I may say that, so far as breeders know, inbreeding of brother and sister, father and daughter, grandfather and granddaughter, and cousins, is essential for the rapid fixing of a type and is the best method, if not the only method, of producing the ancestor of a new and definite variety (see *Evolution of British Cattle*). At the same time indefinite inbreeding ('in and in breeding') is found to be associated with deterioration. . . . Breeders are firmly convinced that indefinite inbreeding certainly results in deterioration, that is their experience. . . . Thus the practice of exogamy is in accord with the experience of breeders." In particular Mr. Heape tells me that a tendency to infertility is believed to be a common result of continuous inbreeding in stock, and that in his judgment the belief is certainly true.[1]

Opinion of Mr. F. H. A. Marshall.

To the same effect Mr. F. H. A. Marshall, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose researches into sexual physiology will shortly be published in full, informs me that long-continued inbreeding carried on in the same place and under the same conditions certainly tends to sterility, but that this tendency can be to some extent counteracted by changing the conditions of life, particularly by removing the animals to a considerable distance. For instance, he tells me that racehorses, which have inbred perhaps more than any other animal, tend to be sterile, but that the offspring of racehorses which have been sent to Australia recover their fertility both with each other and with the parent stock without any infusion of fresh blood. Old breeders were quite aware of the advantage which domestic animals gained from new surroundings; hence some of them used to send part of their stock, for example, to Ireland and then after a time to bring the animals or their descendants back reinvigorated and rendered more prolific by the change.

but by the most complex form of exogamy, namely the eight-class system. But the mistake is immaterial.

[1] Extracted from a letter of Mr. Walter Heape dated Greyfriars, Southwold, 17th December 1909.

Darwin's view that the evils of inbreeding may be checked or prevented by changing the conditions of life without introducing any fresh blood.

This bears out an opinion expressed by Darwin as follows: "There is good reason to believe, and this was the opinion of that most experienced observer, Sir J. Sebright, that the evil effects of close interbreeding may be checked or quite prevented by the related individuals being separated for a few generations and exposed to different conditions of life. This conclusion is now held by many breeders; for instance, Mr. Carr remarks, it is a well-known 'fact that a change of soil and climate effects perhaps almost as great a change in the constitution as would result from an infusion of fresh blood.' I hope to show in a future work that consanguinity by itself counts for nothing, but acts solely from related organisms generally having a similar constitution, and having been exposed in most cases to similar conditions."[1] Similarly Mr. A. R. Wallace writes: "It appears probable, then, that it is not interbreeding in itself that is hurtful, but interbreeding without rigid selection or some change of conditions. . . . In nature, too, the species always extends over a larger area and consists of much greater numbers, and thus a difference of constitution soon arises in different parts of the area, which is wanting in the limited numbers of pure bred domestic animals. From a consideration of these varied facts we conclude that an occasional disturbance of the organic equilibrium is what is essential to keep up the vigour and fertility of any organism, and that this disturbance may be equally well produced either by a cross between individuals of somewhat different constitutions, or by occasional slight changes in the conditions of life."[2]

Thus if these eminent authorities are right, the radical defect of consanguineous marriages is not the mere confluence of two streams of the same blood; it is that the two individuals who conjugate are not sufficiently differentiated from each other. A certain degree of difference between

[1] Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 115; compare *id.* ii. 156: "There is good reason to believe that by keeping the members of the same family in distinct bodies, especially if exposed to somewhat different conditions of life, and by occasionally crossing these families, the evil results of interbreeding may be much diminished or quite eliminated." Some breeders keep large stocks at different places for the sake of crossing them with each other (Ch. Darwin, *op. cit.* ii. 117).

[2] A. R. Wallace, *Darwinism* (London, 1889), pp. 326 *sq.*

them is essential to fertility and life; too great sameness leads to sterility and death. The conclusion may perhaps be confirmed by an analogy drawn from the lowest forms of animal life, the humble Protozoa, which have not yet attained to a discrimination of the sexes and propagate their kind, generation after generation, by the alternate growth and fission of the individual. But though this solitary mode of reproduction may be repeated many times, experiments prove that it cannot be continued indefinitely. There comes a time in the history of each individual when it appears that the organism is becoming worn out, is shrinking after every successive division, in short is shewing signs of senile decay. It must then unite with another organism of a different origin, if the cycle of growth and reproduction is to begin afresh; such a union is absolutely necessary to the perpetuation of the species.[1]

Analogy of the Protozoa.

From the testimonies which I have cited we may safely conclude that infertility is an inevitable consequence of inbreeding continued through many generations in the same place and under the same conditions. The loss of fertility, indeed, "when it occurs, seems never to be absolute, but only relative to animals of the same blood; so that this sterility is to a certain extent analogous with that of self-impotent plants which cannot be fertilized by their own pollen, but are perfectly fertile with pollen of any other individual of the same species."[2] It is a curious coincidence that infertility is precisely the effect which many more or less primitive peoples have attributed to incestuous marriages, though they have not limited that effect to womankind but have extended it to animals and plants. As they cannot have reached these conclusions from experience, they would seem to have arrived at them through some purely superstitious fancy which as yet escapes us.[3] Be that as it may, if the sexual unions of near kin tend in the long run to be unproductive, it is obvious

But if infertility is a necessary consequence of long-continued inbreeding under the same conditions, endogamous races must have stood at a serious disadvantage as compared with exogamous races in the struggle for existence. That may be why the endo-

[1] See Professor J. Y. Simpson's article "Biology" in Dr. J. Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1909) p. 630.

[2] Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 157. However, Darwin reports a case of inbreeding some owl-pigeons till their extreme sterility almost extinguished the breed; and another case of inbreeding trumpeter-pigeons till "inbreeding so close stopped reproduction." See Ch. Darwin, *op. cit.* ii. 131.

[3] See above, pp. 157-160.

gamous peoples have always been, so far as we know, so few in number by comparison with the exogamous peoples.

that any motive, whether purely rational or purely superstitious, which led a people to eschew and forbid such unions must have so far contributed to the welfare of the community by assisting it to multiply fast, though no doubt the same scruples pushed to an exaggerated extent, as in the eight-class system of the Australian aborigines, might have the contrary effect by acting as a positive check on population. On the other hand so far as a people entertained no aversion to incest and indulged in it freely, just so far would it multiply more slowly than its more scrupulous neighbours and would thereby stand at a manifest disadvantage in competing against them. Thus the practice of outbreeding or exogamy would help, and the practice of inbreeding or endogamy would hinder, any community which adopted it in the long series of contests which result in the survival of the fittest; for in one factor of vital importance, the possibility of rapid breeding, the exogamous community would be the fit and the endogamous community the unfit. These considerations may partly explain why at the present day, and so far as we know throughout history, the races which practise exogamy or prohibit incest have been vastly more numerous than the races which practise endogamy and permit incest; and it is a fair inference that in the struggle for existence many endogamous peoples have disappeared, having been either extinguished or absorbed by their more vigorous and prolific rivals.

Thus the principles of exogamy present a curious resemblance to the principles of scientific breeding.

On the whole, then, if we compare the principles of exogamy with the principles of scientific breeding we can scarcely fail to be struck, as Mr. Walter Heape has pointed out,[1] by the curious resemblance, amounting almost to coincidence, between the two.

The institution of exogamous classes secured the advantages of crossing.

In the first place under exogamy the beneficial effects of crossing, which the highest authorities deem essential to the welfare and even to the existence of species of animals and plants, is secured by the system of exogamous classes, either two, four, or eight in number, which we have seen every reason to regard as artificially instituted for the express purpose of preventing the cohabitation of the nearest blood relations. Now it is very remarkable that the particular

[1] See above, pp. 162 *sq.*

form of incest which the oldest form of exogamy, the two-class system, specially prevents is the incest of brothers with sisters. That system absolutely prevents all such incest, while it only partially prevents the incest of parents with children,[1] which to the civilised mind might seem more shocking on account of the difference between the generations, as well as for other reasons. Yet this determination of savage man to stop the cohabitation of brothers with sisters even before stopping the cohabitation of parents with children is in accordance with the soundest biological principles; for it is well recognised both by practical breeders and scientific men that the sexual union of brothers with sisters is the closest and most injurious form of incest, more so than the sexual union of a mother with a son or of a father with a daughter.[2] The complete prohibition of incest between parents and children was effected by the second form of exogamy, the four-class system. Lastly, the prohibition of marriage between all first cousins, about which opinion has wavered down to the present time even in civilised countries, was only accomplished by the third and latest form of exogamy, the eight-class system, which was naturally adopted only by such tribes as disapproved of these marriages, but never by tribes who viewed the union of certain first cousins either with indifference or with positive approbation.

and the order in which the classes were instituted is in accordance with sound biological principles.

Nor does this exhaust the analogies between exogamy and scientific breeding. We have seen that the rule of the deterioration and especially of the infertility of inbred animals is subject to a very important exception. While the evil can be removed by an infusion of fresh blood, it can also be remedied in an entirely different way by simply changing the conditions of life, especially by sending some animals to a distance and then bringing their progeny back to unite with members of the family which have remained in the old home. Such a form of local exogamy, as we may call it, without the introduction of any fresh blood, appears to be effective in regenerating the stock and restoring its lost fertility.[3] But this system of local exogamy, this marriage

Further, the advantages of changing the conditions of life were often secured by the practice of local exogamy instead of, or in addition to, the practice of class exogamy.

[1] See above, pp. 107 *sq.*, 114-119.

[2] Ch. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication* (London, 1905), ii. 114, 123, 130, 156.

[3] See above, pp. 163 *sq*

of members of the same race who have lived at a distance from each other, is also practised by many savage tribes besides or instead of their system of kinship exogamy. It is often a rule with them that they must get their wives not merely from another stock but from another district.[1] For example, we have seen that the Warramunga tribe of Central Australia is divided into two intermarrying classes which occupy separate districts, a northern and a southern, with the rule that the northern men must always marry wives from the southern district, and that reciprocally all the southern men must marry wives from the northern district.[2] Indeed, as I have already pointed out,[3] there are some grounds for conjecturing that the custom of locally separating the exogamous classes may have been adopted at the very outset for the sake of sundering those persons whose sexual union was deemed a danger to the community. It might be hard to devise a marriage system more in accordance with sound biological principles.

The analogy of exogamy to scientific breeding cannot be due to any exact knowledge or far-seeing care on the part of its savage founders; it must be an accidental result of a superstition, an unconscious mimicry of science.

Thus exogamy, especially in the form in which it is practised by the lowest of existing savages, the aborigines of Australia, presents a curious analogy to a system of scientific breeding. That the exogamous system of these primitive people was artificial and that it was deliberately devised by them for the purpose which it actually serves, namely the prevention of the marriage of near kin, seems quite certain; on no other reasonable hypothesis can we explain its complex arrangements, so perfectly adapted to the wants and the ideas of the natives. Yet it is impossible to suppose that in planning it these ignorant and improvident savages could have been animated by exact knowledge of its consequences or by a far-seeing care for the future welfare of their remote descendants. When we reflect how little to this day marriage is regulated by any such considerations even among the most enlightened classes in the most civilised communities, we shall not be likely to attribute a far higher degree of knowledge, foresight, and self-command to the rude founders of exogamy. What idea these primitive sages and lawgivers, if we may call them so,

[1] See the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Exogamy, local."

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 246-249.

[3] Above, vol. i. p. 248.

had in their minds when they laid down the fundamental lines of the institution, we cannot say with certainty; all that we know of savages leads us to suppose that it must have been what we should now call a superstition, some crude notion of natural causation which to us might seem transparently false, though to them it doubtless seemed obviously true. Yet egregiously wrong as they were in theory, they appear to have been fundamentally right in practice. What they abhorred was really evil; what they preferred was really good. Perhaps we may call their curious system an unconscious mimicry of science. The end which it accomplished was wise, though the thoughts of the men who invented it were foolish. In acting as they did, these poor savages blindly obeyed the impulse of the great evolutionary forces which in the physical world are constantly educing higher out of lower forms of existence and in the moral world civilisation out of savagery. If that is so, exogamy has been an instrument in the hands of that unknown power, the masked wizard of history, who by some mysterious process, some subtle alchemy, so often transmutes in the crucible of suffering the dross of folly and evil into the fine gold of wisdom and good.

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NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME I

P. 4. **The sex totem . . . the individual totem.** — These terms are unsatisfactory, for reasons which I have already indicated.[1] For "sex totem" I have suggested "sex patron," and the suggestion has, I understand, been accepted by a committee of anthropologists, who for "individual totem" propose to substitute "guardian genius."

P. 7. **The Kalang . . . transformed into a dog.**—The full legend of the descent of the Kalangs from a dog which married a woman has been recorded.[2] It presents the characteristic traits of the Oedipus story; a mother marries her son unwittingly, and the son kills his dog-father without knowing the relation in which he stood to the animal. In one version of the legend the woman has twin sons by the dog and afterwards unwittingly marries them both. It is said that the belief of the Kalangs in their descent from a dog plays a great part in all their ceremonies, the intention of which is to summon their ancestors into their midst. For example, they strew ashes on the floor for eight nights before a wedding, and if they find the footprints of a dog in the ashes, they take it as a sign that the ancestors are pleased with the marriage. Similarly, they draw omens from the footprints of a dog in ashes or sand at a certain festival which they hold once in seven months. It is also said that the Kalangs have wooden images of dogs, which they revere.[3] According to the Javanese, the incest which the Kalangs tell of in their traditions is repeated in their customs; for it is reported that among them mother and son often live together as man and wife,

[1] See above, vol. iii. pp. 454-456.

[2] See E. Ketjen, "De Kalangers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiv. (1877) pp. 430-435, with the notes of H. L. Ch. te M[echelen], *ibid.* pp. 438-441. Compare P. J. Veth, *Java* (Haarlem, 1875-1884), iii. pp. 581 *sq.*

[3] E. Ketjen, *op. cit.* pp. 424-427.

and it is a belief of the Kalangs that worldly prosperity and riches flow from such a union.[1] However, in spite of the tradition of their descent from a dog, there seems to be no sufficient evidence that the Kalangs have totemism. Indeed the story of a canine origin, combined with incest, is told of other peoples in the Malay Archipelago.[2]

P. 8. **The Ainos . . . suckled by a bear.**—According to the Rev. John Batchelor many of the Ainos who dwell among the mountains believe themselves to be descended from a bear. They belong to the Bear clan and are called *Kimun Kamui sanikiri*, that is, "descendants of the bear." Such people are very proud and say, "As for me, I am a child of the god of the mountains; I am descended from the divine one who rules in the mountains." Further, Mr. Batchelor tells us that the Ainos of a certain district often call each other by names which mean "children of the eagle" and "descendants of the bird," these being terms of reproach which they hurl at one another in their quarrels. He thinks that these epithets are evidence of clan totemism.[3] However, there is no sufficient proof that the Ainos are totemic.[4] The usual tradition is that the Ainos, like the Kalangs of Java, are descended from a woman and a dog.[5]

P. 9. **"That brother belonging to me you have killed."**—"In one instance, a native at Béran plains, desired a European not to kill a *gínar*, which he was then chasing, but to catch it alive, as it was 'him brother.' The animal, however, was killed, at which the native was much displeased, and would not eat of it, but unceasingly complained of the 'tumbling down him brother.'"[6] Again, with regard to the Moorloobulloo, a tribe of Central Australia, at the junction of King's Creek and the Georgina or Herbert River, we are told that "the persons of this tribe take each the name of some bird or animal, which the individual calls brother, and will not eat."[7]

[1] E. Ketjen, "De Kalangers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiv. (1877) p. 427.

[2] J. C. van Eerde, "De Kalang-legende op Lombok," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xlv. (1902) pp. 30-58, especially pp. 30 *sq.*

[3] Rev. John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* (London, 1901), pp. 10 *sq.*

[4] See above, vol. ii. p. 348 note.

[5] See W. M. Wood, "The Hairy Men of Yesso," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iv. (1866) p. 37; Lieut. Swinton C. Holland, "On the Ainos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. (1874) p. 236; H. C. St. John, *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Coasts of Nipon* (Edinburgh, 1880), pp. 29 *sq.*; Isabella L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (New Edition, 1885), pp. 250, 255, 315; D. Brauns, *Japanische Märchen und Sagen* (Leipsic, 1885), pp. 167-170.

[6] George Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, Pedir Coast, Singapore and China* (London, 1834), i. 131.

[7] J. O. Machattie, in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 366 *sq.*

Some Peruvian Indians would not kill the fish of a certain river; "for they said that the fish were their brothers."[1]

P. 9. **The Ojibways (Chippeways) do not kill . . . their totems, etc.**—However, this statement seems to apply to the guardian animals of individuals rather than to the totemic animals of clans.[2]

P. 10. **Split totems.**—Some of the ancient Egyptians, like many modern savages, appear to have restricted their veneration to certain parts of the sacred animals, whereby they were able to satisfy at once their consciences and their appetites by abstaining from some joints and partaking of others. Thus Sextus Empiricus writes: "Of the Egyptians who are counted wise some deem it sacrilegious to eat the head of an animal, others to eat the shoulder-blade, others the foot, and others some other part."[3] Again, Lucian says that, while some of the ancient Egyptians revered whole animals, such as bulls, crocodiles, cats, baboons, and apes, others worshipped only parts of animals; thus the right shoulder would be the god of one village, the left shoulder the god of a second village, and half of the head the god of a third.[4]

P. 13. **A Samoan clan had for its totem the butterfly, etc.**—The worshipful animals, plants, and so forth of the Samoans appear to have been rather deities developed out of totems than totems in the proper sense.[5]

P. 14. **Sometimes the totem animal is fed and even kept alive in captivity.**—A very few cases of feeding wild animals or keeping them in captivity on the ground of their sanctity have met us in the course of this work.[6] The natives of the Pelew Islands regard the puffin as a divine bird; they often feed it and keep it tame.[7] It is said that in antiquity a Greek general, marching at the head of an army into the interior of Libya, discovered three cities called the Cities of Apes, in which apes were worshipped as gods and lived with the people in their houses. The inhabitants generally called their children after the apes and punished with death any sacrilegious person who dared to kill one of the sacred animals.[8]

P. 15. **The dead totem is mourned for and buried, etc.**—It is

[1] Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by C. R. Markham, vol. i. p. 168. See also above, vol. ii. p. 372.

[2] See above, vol. iii. pp. 51 *sq.*

[3] Sextus Empiricus, ed. I. Bekker (Berlin, 1842), p. 173.

[4] Lucian, *Jupiter Tragoedus*, 42.

[5] See above, vol. ii. pp. 151, 166 *sq.*

[6] See above, vol. ii. p. 35 (as to the Bugilai of New Guinea); vol. ii. p. 341 (as to the aborigines of Formosa); and vol. iii. p. 576 (as to the Bororos of Brazil).

[7] J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in A. Bastian's *Allerlei aus Volks- und Menschenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), i. 38 *sq.*

[8] Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca Historica*, xx. 58. The passage was pointed out to me by my learned friend Mr. William Wyse.

by no means clear that any of the sacred animals, whose solemn burial is recorded in this paragraph, were totems. A similar custom of burying sacred animals, not necessarily totems, is observed elsewhere. Thus in Malabar "killing a snake is considered a grievous sin, and even to see a snake with its head bruised is believed to be a precursor of calamities. Pious Malayālis, when they see a snake killed in this way, have it burnt with the full solemnities attendant on the cremation of high-caste Hindus. The carcase is covered with a piece of silk, and burnt in sandalwood. A Brahman is hired to observe pollution for some days, and elaborate funeral oblations are offered to the dead snake."[1] Some of the totemic clans of the Gold Coast bury their totemic animals.[2]

P. 16. **Circumlocutions . . . to give no offence to the worshipful animal.**—The custom of referring to animals, especially dangerous animals, by circumlocutions for the sake of avoiding the use of their ordinary names is very widespread and is no doubt commonly based on a fear of attracting the attention of the creatures or of putting them on their guard. The animals so referred to need not be totems; often they are the creatures which the hunter or fisherman wishes to catch and kill.[3]

P. 17. **The worshippers of the Syrian goddess . . . break out in ulcers.**—According to the Greek comic poet Menander, when the Syrians ate fish, their feet and bellies swelled up, and by way of appeasing the goddess whom they had angered they put on sackcloth and sat down on dung by the wayside in order to express the depth of their humiliation.[4]

P. 17. **The Egyptians . . . would break out in a scab.**—Aelian ascribes to the Egyptian historian Manetho the statement, that any Egyptian who drank of pig's milk would be covered with leprosy.[5]

Prohibited foods in Australia.

P. 19. **Food prohibitions, which vary chiefly with age.**—These prohibitions are, or were, common among the aborigines of Australia. Thus with regard to the natives of Victoria in particular we are told that they "have many very curious laws relating to food. The old men are privileged to eat every kind of food that it is lawful for any of their tribe to eat, but there are kinds of food which a tribe will eat in one district and which tribes in another part of the continent will not touch. The women may not eat of the flesh of certain animals; certain sorts of meat are prohibited to children and young persons; young married women are interdicted from partaking of

[1] Edgar Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), p. 288, quoting Mr. C. Karunakara Menon. As to the solemn burial of certain sacred animals in Madagascar, see above, vol. ii. pp. 633, 635.

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 556, 557.

[3] For many examples of the custom see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 451 *sqq*

[4] Menander, quoted by Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iv. 15.

[5] Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, x. 16.

dainties that delight the palates of older women; and men may not touch the flesh of some animals until a mystic ceremony has been duly celebrated. Their laws, indeed, in connection with hunting and fishing, and the collecting, cooking, and eating of food, are numerous and complex; and as the penalties believed to be incurred for a breach of these laws are, in most cases, serious diseases, or death, they are obeyed. Some suppose that cunning old men established the laws for the purpose of reserving to themselves those kinds of food which it was most difficult to procure, and that one effect of their prohibitions was to make the young men more expert in hunting; and it has been suggested that the eating of some animals was interdicted in order that the natural increase might not be prevented. In looking over the list of animals prohibited to young men, to women, and to children, one fails to see, however, any good reasons for the selection—unless we regard nearly the whole of the prohibitions as having their source in superstitious beliefs."[1] In the Yarra tribe young people were forbidden to eat the flying squirrels, porcupines, emus, bustards, ducks, swans, iguanas, turtles, a species of large fish (*woora-mook*), and young opossums, but they might eat old male opossums. If any young person ate of any of the forbidden animals before leave was granted him by the old men, it was said that he would sicken and die, and that no doctor could save him. But after the age of thirty he might eat any of the animals with impunity.[2] "No young men are allowed to eat the flesh or eggs of the emu, a kind of luxury which is thus reserved exclusively for the old men and the women. I understood from Piper, who abstained from eating emu, when food was very scarce, that the ceremony necessary in this case consisted chiefly in being rubbed all over with emu fat by an old man. Richardson of our party was an old man, and Piper reluctantly allowed himself to be rubbed with emu fat by Richardson, but from that time he had no objection to eat emu. The threatened penalty was that young men on eating the flesh of an emu would be afflicted with sores all over the body."[3] Among the Birria, Koongerri, and Kungarditchi tribes of Central Australia, at the junction of the Thomson and Barcoo rivers, it was believed that if a young man were even to break an emu egg, the offended spirits would raise a storm of thunder and lightning, in which the culprit himself would probably be struck down.[4] Among the Port Lincoln tribes of South Australia the general principle of the food laws is said to have been "that the male of any animal should be eaten by grown-up men, the female by women, and the young animal by

[1] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 234.

[2] R. Brough Smyth, *op. cit.* i. 235.

[3] Major T. L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions into the Interior of Eastern Australia* (London, 1838), ii. 340 *sq.*

[4] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 377.

children only. An exception, however, is made with respect to the common kangaroo-rat, which may be eaten promiscuously. The wallaby, especially that species called by the natives *yurridni*, and the two species of bandicoot, *kurkulla* and *yartiri*, must on no account be eaten by young men and young women, as they are believed to produce premature *menses* in the latter, and discolour the beards of the former, giving them a brown tinge instead of a shining black. . . . Guanas and lizards are proper food for girls, as accelerating maturity, and snakes for women, promoting fecundity."[1]

Among the aborigines of Australia the prohibitions to eat certain animal or vegetable foods often come into operation at those initiatory ceremonies which mark the attainment of puberty and the transition from boyhood to manhood. We shall recur to this subject a little further on.[2]

P. 20. **The Psylli, a Snake clan in Africa . . . exposed their new-born children to snakes, etc.**—The ancient historian Dio Cassius has also recorded that the Psylli were immune to snake-bites, and that they tested their new-born children by exposing them to snakes, which did them no harm. According to the historian, Octavian attempted to restore the dead Cleopatra to life by means of these men.[3] The Greek topographer Pausanias also refers to the power which the Libyan Psylli were thought to possess of healing persons who had been bitten by snakes.[4] In the Punjab there is a Snake caste or tribe (*zat*), the members of which worship snakes and claim to be immune to their sting. They will not kill a snake, and if they find a dead one, they put clothes on it and give the reptile a regular burial.[5] The Tilokchandi Baises in North-Western India claim to be descended from the snake-god, and it is said that no member of the family has been known to die from snake-bite.[6] Members of the Isowa sect in Morocco assert that snakes, scorpions, and all other venomous creatures cannot harm them, and that they therefore handle them with impunity.[7]

P. 21. **Some judicial ordeals may have originated in totem tests of kinship.**—At Calabar in West Africa the sharks were the *ju-ju* or sacred animals. They throng the creek before the town and used to be regularly fed. In former times criminals had to

[1] C. W. Schürmann, "The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 220.

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 40-42, and below, pp. 217 *sqq.*

[3] Dio Cassius, *Historia Romana*, li. 14.

[4] Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, ix. 28. 1.

[5] F. A. Steel, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. ii. p. 91, § 555.

[6] *Panjab Notes and Queries*, vol. iii. p. 162, § 664.

[7] A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (London, 1876), p. 267.

swim across the creek as an ordeal. If they escaped the maws of the ravenous sharks, they were deemed innocent.[1]

P. 22. **The Snake clan (Ophiogenes) of Asia Minor, etc.**—The Snake clan (Ophiogenes) were a mythical people, who are said to have lived at Parium in Mysia.[2] The statement in the text that if they were bitten by an adder they had only to put a snake to the wound is erroneous. What Strabo reports is that when people were bitten by adders the Snake men healed them by touching their bodies and so transferring the poison to themselves and thus relieving the inflammation. He tells us that the founder of the family is said to have been a hero who had been an adder before he took human shape. "As we crossed the Kal Aspad, we saw a tomb named Imam Zadahi—Pir Mar (*Pir Mar* signifies Saint Snake), a shrine of great celebrity in Luristan. This saint is said to have possessed the miraculous power of curing the bites of all venomous serpents; and, at the present day, whenever a Lur in the vicinity is bitten by a snake, he repairs to the shrine, and, according to popular belief, always recovers. The descendants of this holy personage, too, claim to have inherited the miraculous power, and I have certainly seen them effect some very remarkable cures."[3]

P. 25. **The Yezidis abominate blue.**—Their strongest curse is "May you die in blue garments."[4] Hindoos of the Kurnal District will not grow indigo, for simple blue is an abomination to them.[5] It is very unlikely that such dislikes have anything to do with totemism.

P. 25. **The sun was the special divinity of the chiefs of the Natchez.**—The Natchez had a temple dedicated to the sun, in which a perpetual fire was kept burning. They thought that the family of their chiefs was descended from the sun and that their souls returned to it at death. The chief of the whole nation was called the Great Sun and his relations the Little Suns. These human Suns looked down on their fellow-tribesmen with great contempt.[6]

P. 26. **The clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to his totem, etc.**—"To the observations I have made before about all African tribes, that in their attire they endeavour to imitate some part of the animal creation, I may add that they seem to

[1] Captain John Adams, *Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo* (London, 1823), pp. 138 *sq.*

[2] Strabo, xiii. 1. 14.

[3] Rawlinson, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, ix. (1839) p. 96.

[4] Millingan, *Wild Life among the Koords*, p. 277.

[5] (Sir) Denzil C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tapsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), p. 155.

[6] "Relation de la Louisiane," *Voyages au nord*, Troisième Édition (Amsterdam, 1731-1738), v. 24.

show a special preference for copying any individual species for which they have a particular reverence. In this way it frequently happens that their superstition indirectly influences the habits of their daily life, and that their animal-worship finds expression in their dress." [1]

P. 27. **The practice of knocking out the upper front teeth at puberty . . . is, or was once, probably an imitation of the totem.** —This statement is not well founded. There is no evidence that the widespread custom of knocking out, chipping, or filing the teeth [2] is an imitation of the totemic animal, nor indeed that it has anything to do with totemism, though it is observed by many totemic tribes. The custom of knocking out one or two front teeth of each male novice at initiation occurs in the extreme north of Queensland,[3] and is common in South-Eastern Australia,[4] but since in the tribes which practise it the operation is performed alike on all lads, whatever their totem, it seems impossible that the extraction of the tooth or teeth can be intended to assimilate the men to their various totemic animals. Like so many other rites which mark the attainment of puberty among savages, this strange custom of extracting or mutilating the teeth is probably based on some crude superstition which we do not yet understand. Among the Central Australian tribes the extraction of teeth is not practised as a rite of initiation, obligatory upon all young men before they are admitted to the privileges of manhood; still it is submitted to voluntarily by many men and women and is associated, curiously enough, in their minds with the production or the prevention of rain. Thus in the Arunta tribe the custom is observed especially by members of the Rain or Water totem; indeed it is almost, though not quite, obligatory on both men and women of that clan as well as on the natives of what is called the Rain Country (*Kartwia Quatcha*) to the north-east of the Arunta territory. In the Arunta tribe the operation is usually performed before marriage and always after the members of the Rain or Water clan have observed their magical ceremony (*intichiuma*) for the making of rain or water. To explain the special association of tooth-drawing with the rain totem the natives say that the intention of the rite is to make the patient's

Custom of extracting front teeth at initiation and other occasions in Australia.

Extraction of teeth associated with rain.

[1] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, Third Edition (London, 1878), i. 192.

[2] For a collection of evidence on this subject see H. von Ihering, "Die künstliche Deformirung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. (1882) pp. 213-262.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 535.

[4] See the references in vol. i. p. 412 note [2]; and further E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 410; *Native Tribes of South Australia* (Adelaide, 1879), pp. 266 *sq.*; *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales, 1882*, pp. 165 *sq.*, 172, 209; *id., 1883*, pp. 26 *sq.*; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 164, iii. 273; R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 61, 62, 64 *sq.*, ii. 296.

face look like a dark cloud with a light rim, which portends rain.[1] The explanation seems far-fetched, but at least it shews that in the minds of the aborigines the custom is associated with, if not based upon, the principle of sympathetic or imitative magic. In the Warramunga tribe the ceremony of knocking out teeth is always performed after the fall of heavy rain, when the natives have had enough and wish the rain to stop. The Tjingilli in like manner extract the teeth towards the end of the rainy season, when they think that no more rain is needed; and the extracted teeth are thrown into a water-hole in the belief that they will drive the rain and clouds away. Again, in the Gnanji tribe the rite is always observed during the rainy season; and when the tooth has been drawn it is carried about for some time by the operator. Finally it is given by him to the patient's mother, who buries it beside some water-hole for the purpose of stopping the rain and making the edible water-lilies to grow plentifully.[2]

Relation of tooth-extraction as an initiatory rite to circumcision.

Superficially regarded the initiatory rite of tooth-extraction so far resembles the initiatory rite of circumcision that the essential part of both consists in the removal of a part of the patient's body; accordingly it is probably not without significance that the tribes of South-Eastern Australia, who practise the rite of tooth-extraction, do not observe the rite of circumcision; while on the contrary the tribes of Central Australia and North-West Queensland, who practise the rite of circumcision, do not observe the rite of tooth-extraction as an initiatory ceremony.[3] With great diffidence I have conjectured that the two rites of circumcision and tooth-extraction may have had this much in common, that they were both intended to promote the reincarnation of the individual at a future time by severing from his person a vital or especially durable portion and subjecting it to a treatment which, in the opinion of these savages, was fitted to ensure the desired object of bringing him to life again after death.[4]

Theory of circumcision.

The evidence which has suggested this conjecture is indeed very slight and scanty; but a few points in it may be mentioned.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 213, 450 *sq.*; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 588 *sqq.*

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 593-596.

[3] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 118 note [1], 213, 453 *sqq.*; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897), pp. 111, 170 *sqq.* The relation between circumcision and tooth-extraction as alternative rites of initiation had already been indicated by E. J. Eyre, who used it as an argument for determining the migrations of the various Australian tribes from what he conceived to be their starting-point on the north-west coast of the continent. See E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 405-411.

[4] J. G. Frazer, "The Origin of Circumcision," *The Independent Review*, November 1904, pp. 204-218.

Custom of placing extracted teeth in trees.

Thus among the natives of the Goulburn River in the central part of Victoria, when a youth reaches manhood, "he is conducted by three of the leaders of the tribe into the recesses of the woods, where he remains two days and one night. Being furnished with a piece of wood he knocks out two of the teeth of his upper front jaw; and on returning to the camp carefully consigns them to his mother. The youth then again retires into the forest, and remains absent two nights and one day; during which his mother, having selected a young gum tree, inserts the teeth in the bark, in the fork of two of the topmost branches. This tree is made known only to certain persons of the tribe, and is strictly kept from the knowledge of the youth himself. In case the person to whom the tree is thus dedicated dies, the foot of it is stripped of its bark, and it is killed by the application of fire; thus becoming a monument of the deceased."[1] In some of the Darling River tribes in New South Wales the youth after initiation used to place his extracted tooth under the bark of a tree, near a creek, water-hole, or river; if the bark grew over it or the tooth fell into the water, all was well; but if it were exposed and ants ran over it, the natives believed that the youth would suffer from a disease in his mouth.[2] These customs seem to shew that a mystic relation of sympathy was supposed to exist between the man and his severed tooth of such a nature that when it suffered he suffered, and that when he died the tooth and its temporary receptacle must both be destroyed.[3]

[1] W. Blandowski, "Personal Observations made in an Excursion towards the Central Parts of Victoria," *Transactions of the Philosophical Society of Victoria*, i. (Melbourne, 1855), p. 72. Compare R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 61; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 453 *sq*. It may be noted that in the tribes of Central Victoria described by Mr. Blandowski a young man as usual was prohibited from holding any communication with his wife's mother. Once "a mother-in-law being descried approaching, a number of *lubras* [women] formed a circle around the young man, and he himself covered his face with his hands." See W. Blandowski, *op. cit.* p. 74.

[2] F. Bonney, "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 128. Similarly among tribes of the Itchumundi nation to the west of the Darling River a young man takes his extracted tooth together with the hair which has been plucked from his private parts and conceals them under the bark of a tree which has its roots in a water-hole. See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 675 *sq*.

[3] The belief in a sympathetic relation between the man and his extracted tooth comes out plainly in a custom of the Dieri. After the novice's mouth is healed his father takes the two extracted teeth, "blows two or three times with his mouth, and then jerks the teeth through his hand to a distance. He then buries them about eighteen inches in the ground. The jerking motion is to show that he has already taken all the life out of them; as, should he fail to do so, the boy would be liable to have an ulcerated mouth, an impediment in his speech, a wry mouth, and ultimately a distorted face." See A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 656.

If these aborigines believed in the reincarnation of the dead, as to which however we have no information, it might be that the burning of the tree and the tooth was intended to liberate the vital essence of the dead man as a preliminary to rebirth. In this connection it deserves to be noticed that it is the mother of the youth who deposits his tooth in the tree, just as among the Gnanji it is the mother of the patient who buries the tooth beside a water-hole; and further that in the Arunta and Kaitish tribes the extracted tooth is thrown away in the direction where the boy's or girl's mother is supposed to have encamped in the far-off dream times (*alcheringa*).[1] This at least suggests that the tooth may possibly be regarded as an instrument of impregnation and therefore of a new birth. The same may perhaps be the meaning of a curious custom observed in the Warramunga tribe; the extracted tooth is pounded up and given in a piece of flesh to the mother or to the mother-in-law of the patient to eat, according as the person operated on is a girl or a boy.[2] In some Queensland tribes "the custom of knocking out the two front teeth is connected with the entry into their heaven. If they have the two front teeth out they will have bright clear water to drink, and if not they will have only dirty or muddy water."[3] Such a belief, if it is really held, proves that the practice of extracting teeth at puberty is associated in the native mind with the life hereafter and is supposed to be a preparation for it. Customs to a certain extent similar are observed by some Australian aborigines in regard to the foreskins which are severed at circumcision. Thus in the Warramunga tribe the foreskin is placed in the hole made by a witchetty grub in a tree and is supposed to cause a plentiful supply of grubs; or it may be put in the burrow of a ground spider and then it is thought to make the lad's genital organ to grow. The lad himself never sees the severed foreskin and, like the Victorian natives in regard to the trees where their extracted teeth are deposited, never knows where this portion of himself has been placed.[4] These beliefs as to the foreskin, like the beliefs as to the tooth deposited in a water-hole, suggest that a fertilising virtue is ascribed to the severed foreskin as well as to the severed tooth. Further, among some tribes of North-Western Australia the foreskin of each lad who has been circumcised is tied to his hair and left there till his wound is healed, after which it is either pounded up with kangaroo meat and eaten by its owner, or is taken by his relations to a large tree and there inserted under the bark.[5] However we may explain it,

Disposal of the foreskins severed at circumcision.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 452, 453, 455 *sq.*

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 593.

[3] E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 291.

[4] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 353 *sq.*

[5] E. Clement, "Ethnographical

a curious parallelism thus exists between the ritual of circumcision and the ritual of tooth-extraction, since both of the severed and unpalatable parts of the body, the foreskin and the tooth, are either eaten or deposited in a tree, which is kept secret from the man or woman from whose person the one or the other has been abstracted. In the Unmatjera tribe the boy himself hides his foreskin, under cover of darkness, in a hollow tree, telling no one but a cousin, his father's sister's son, where he has put it, and carefully concealing it from women. A pregnant hint as to the part played by the tree in the ceremony is furnished by the Unmatjera tradition, that the ancestors of the tribe always placed their foreskins in their *nanja* trees, that is, in the trees where their disembodied spirits were supposed to tarry in the interval between two successive incarnations.[1] As such trees are among the spots where women are supposed to conceive children through the entrance of the disembodied spirits into their womb, it is hardly rash to conjecture that the intention of placing the severed foreskin in such a tree was to ensure that the person from whom it was taken might hereafter, when his present life was over, be born again of a woman into the world. The same idea may have been at the root of the practice of similarly placing the extracted tooth in a tree; although with regard to the latter custom we unfortunately know too little as to the beliefs of the natives who practise it to be justified in advancing this hypothesis as anything more than a bare conjecture.

Hawaiian custom of knocking out teeth in mourning for a king or chief.

In Hawaii it was a custom to knock out one or more front teeth as a mark of grief at the death of a king or chief; and though this custom was not obligatory, it was yet so common that in the old heathen days few men were to be seen with an entire set of teeth, and many had lost all their front teeth both on the upper and lower jaw, which, apart from its other inconveniences, caused a great defect in their speech. The custom was practised both by men and women, but oftener by men than by women. Sometimes a man knocked out his own teeth with a stone; but more commonly some one else kindly did it for him, putting a stick against the tooth and hammering it with a stone till it broke. If men shrank from the pain of the operation, women would often perform it upon them while they slept.[2] It is probable that this custom was not a mere

Notes on the Western Australian Aborigines," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, xvi. (1904) p. 11.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 341. As to the *nanja* trees or rocks, the homes of disembodied spirits, see *id.*, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 123-125, 132-134.

[2] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, iv. (London, 1836) p. 176. Compare *The Voyages of Captain James Cook round the World* (London, 1809), vii. 146; L. de Freycinet, *Voyage autour du monde*, ii. (Paris, 1829) p. 601; O. von Kotzebue, *Reise um die Welt* (Weimar, 1830), ii. 116.

extravagant exhibition of sorrow; we may surmise that it sprang from some superstition. Indeed Captain Cook, the first to record it, expressly says: "We always understood that this voluntary punishment, like the cutting off the joints of the finger at the Friendly Islands, was not inflicted on themselves from the violence of grief on the death of their friends, but was designed as a propitiatory sacrifice to the *Eatooa* [spirit], to avert any danger or mischief to which they might be exposed."[1] It is possible that these sacrifices of teeth may have been originally intended, not so much to appease the vexed ghost of the departed, as to strengthen him either for his life in the world of shades or perhaps for rebirth into the world. I have suggested elsewhere[2] that this was the intention with which mourners in Australia wound themselves severely and allow the blood to drip on the corpse or on the grave.[3] In some tribes of Central Africa, as I learn from my friend the Rev. John Roscoe, all the teeth which have been at any time extracted from a man's mouth are carefully preserved and buried with him at death in his grave, doubtless in order that he may have the use of them at his next resurrection. It is accordingly legitimate to conjecture that the teeth which the Hawaiians knocked out of their mouths at the death of a king or chief may have been destined for the benefit of the deceased, whether by recruiting his vital forces in general or by furnishing him with a liberal, indeed superabundant, supply of teeth.

Teeth buried with the dead.

Throughout the East Indian Archipelago it is customary to file and blacken the teeth of both sexes at puberty as a necessary preliminary to marriage. The common way of announcing that a girl has reached puberty is to say, "She has had her teeth filed." However, the ceremony is often delayed for a year or two, when there is no immediate prospect of a girl's marriage. The operation is chiefly confined to the upper canine teeth, the edges of which are filed down and made quite even, while the body of the tooth is hollowed. However, the teeth of the lower jaw are very often filed also. Sometimes the teeth are filed right down to the gums; sometimes they are filed into a pointed or triangular shape, so that all together they resemble the edge of a saw. The custom of thus pointing the teeth is found particularly in Java, some districts of Sumatra, the Mentawei Islands, among the Ootanatas on the south-

Custom of filing and blackening the teeth in the East Indian Archipelago.

[1] *The Voyages of Captain James Cook round the World* (London, 1809), vii. 146.

[2] "The Origin of Circumcision," *The Independent Review*, November 1904, pp. 208 *sqq.*

[3] See F. Bonney, "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 134 *sq.*; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 507, 509; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 516 *sq.*; G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery in North-West and Western Australia* (London, 1841), ii. 332.

Custom of filing the teeth in the East Indian Archipelago.

west coast of New Guinea, some negrito and some Malay tribes of the Philippines, and very commonly among the Dyaks of Sarawak in Borneo.[1] In the island of Bali the four upper front teeth are filed down to the gums and the two eye-teeth are pointed. For three days after the operation the patient is secluded in a dark room; above all he is strictly enjoined not to enter the kitchen. Even when he has been released from the dark chamber he must for eight days thereafter take the greatest care not to cross a river or even a brook, and not to enter a house in which there is a dead body.[2] In some parts of the East Indian Archipelago, for example, in Minahassa, a district of northern Celebes, the teeth may only be filed after the death of the nearest blood-relations, which seems to shew that in these places, as in Hawaii, the custom is associated with mourning.[3] Contrary to the practice of the Australian aborigines, with whom tooth-extraction and circumcision are alternative rites of initiation, some tribes observing the one and some the other, all the peoples of the East Indian Archipelago circumcise both sexes, so that among them the nearly universal custom of filing the teeth is practised in addition to, not as a substitute for, circumcision.[4] But while almost all the Indonesian peoples file their teeth, very few of them knock out their teeth, like the aborigines of

[1] John Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago* (Edinburgh, 1820), i. 215 *sq.*; G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), pp. 234 *sqq.*; *id.* "Over de mutilatie der tanden bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) pp. 472-504. Compare W. Marsden, *History of Sumatra* (London, 1811), pp. 52 *sq.*, 470; T. S. Raffles, *The History of Java* (London, 1817), i. 95, 351; T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (London, 1839), i. 253; S. Müller, *Reizen en Onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel* (Amsterdam, 1857), ii. 279; B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes* (The Hague, 1875), pp. 70 *sq.*; A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra* (Leyden, 1882), pp. 6-8; J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane en Bilastroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, Deel iii. Afdeeling, Mehr uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1886), pp. 460-464; J. G. F. Riedel, "De landschappen Holontalo, Limoeto, Bone, Boalemo en Kattingola, of Andagile," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde*, xix. (1869) p. 133; *id.* "Die Landschaft Dawan oder West-Timor," *Deutsche geographische Blätter*, x. 284; *id. De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), pp. 75, 137, 177, 251, 418; *id.*, *The Island of Flores or Pulau Bunga*, p. 8 (reprinted from the *Revue coloniale internationale*). As to the different modes of mutilating the teeth and their geographical distribution in the Indian Archipelago, see H. von Ihering, "Die künstliche Deformirung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. (1882) pp. 240-253.

[2] R. van Eck, "Schetsen van het eiland Bali," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, N.S. ix. (1880) pp. 423-429.

[3] G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde* (Leyden, 1893), p. 236.

[4] G. A. Wilken, *op. cit.* pp. 225, 234.

Australia. Indeed the latter custom appears to be reported only of some tribes of Central Celebes and of the natives of Engano.[1] Thus it is said that among the Tonapos, Tobadas, and Tokulabis of Central Celebes women have two front upper teeth knocked out at puberty and the lower teeth filed away to the gums. The reason alleged for the practice is that a woman once bit her husband so severely that he died.[2] The wide prevalence of the custom of filing the teeth and the comparative absence of the custom of breaking them out in the Indian Archipelago favour the view that the former is a mitigation of the latter, the barbarous old practice of removing certain teeth altogether having been softened into one of removing only a portion of each.[3]

Custom of filing the teeth in Indo-China.

The practice of filing the teeth is found also in some tribes of Indo-China. Thus among the Phnongs, on the left bank of the Mekong River in Cambodia, when children are thirteen years of age, the teeth of the upper jaw are cut down almost to the gums and they are kept short by filing or rubbing them from time to time. No reasonable explanation of the custom is given by the people.[4] Similarly among the Khveks of French Cochin-China men and women file their upper incisor teeth down to a level with the gums;[5] and the men of Drai, a village of the Mois, also have their teeth filed, which according to the Annamites is a sign of cannibalism.[6] In China we hear of the Ta-ya Kih-lau, or "the Kih-lau which beat out their teeth." "These are found in Kien-si, Tsing-ping, and Ping-yueh. Before the daughters are given in marriage, two of their front teeth must be beaten out to prevent damage to the husband's family. This practice has secured to this tribe its designation, as given above. This tribe is divided into five clans, which do not intermarry."[7] Among the aborigines of northern Formosa "one of the most singular customs is that of knocking out the eye tooth of all the children when they reach the

[1] G. A. Wilken, "Over de mutilatie der tanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) pp. 483 *sq.*; *id. Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 236.

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, "De Topantunuasu of oorspronkelijke Volksstammen van Centraal Selebes," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxv. (1886) pp. 92 *sq.*

[3] This is the opinion of Dr. Uhle, quoted by G. A. Wilken, "Over de mutilatie der tanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) p. 484.

[4] J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), i. 416.

[5] E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Saigon, 1885), p. 57.

[6] Humann, "Excursion chez les Moïs," *Cochinchine française, excursions et reconnaissances*, No. 19 (Saigon, 1884), p. 36.

[7] "Sketches of the Miau-tsze," translated by the Rev. E. C. Bridgman, *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. No. 3 (December 1859), p. 283. These "Sketches" were written by a Chinaman who travelled in the province of Kwei-chou.

age of six or eight years, in the belief that it strengthens their speed and wind in hunting." [1]

Custom of knocking out, chipping, or filing the teeth in Africa.

In Africa the custom of knocking out, chipping, or filing the teeth is very common.[2] Thus among the Herero or Damaras both boys and girls about the age of puberty have the four lower incisor teeth knocked out and a wedge-shaped or triangular opening (like an inverted V) made in the upper row by chipping pieces off the two middle incisor teeth with a rough stone The people regard this artificial deformity as a beauty; no girl will attract a lover if she has not undergone this painful mutilation. As to the meaning of the custom the Herero themselves are uncertain.[3] According to one account the name for the operation (*oruvara ruomusisi*) means "fashioned after the likeness of the holy ancestral bull." [4] It is to be observed that among the Herero all the males are also circumcised, the operation being performed on them between the ages of six and ten, some years before their teeth are knocked out and chipped.[5] All the Batoka tribes in the valley of the Zambesi "follow the curious custom of knocking out the upper front teeth at the age of puberty. This is done by both sexes, and though the under teeth, being relieved from the attrition of the upper, grow long and somewhat bent out, and thereby cause the under lip to protrude in a most unsightly way, no young woman thinks herself accomplished until she has got rid of the upper incisors. . . . When questioned respecting the origin of this practice, the Batoka reply that their object is to be like oxen, and those who retain their teeth they consider to resemble zebras. Whether this is the true reason or not, it is difficult to say; but it is noticeable that the veneration for oxen which prevails in many tribes should here be associated with hatred to the zebra, as among the Bakwains; that this operation is performed at the same age that circumcision is in other tribes; and that here that ceremony is unknown. The custom is so universal that a person who has his teeth is considered ugly. . . . Some of the Makololo give a more facetious explanation

[1] E. C. Taintor, "The Aborigines of Northern Formosa," *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, No. 9, p. 65.

[2] As to the different forms of the mutilation and their geographical distribution in Africa, see H. von Ihering, "Die künstliche Deformirung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. (1882) pp. 220-240.

[3] H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest Afrika*, pp. 169-171; J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), pp. 104 *sq.* Compare Sir James Edward Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa* (London, 1838), ii. 163; C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, Second Edition (London, 1856), p. 226; James Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa* (London, 1868), ii. 215; J. Hahn, "Die Ovaherero," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, iv. (1869) p. 501; G. Fritsche, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrikas* (Breslau, 1872), p. 235.

[4] "*Zeichen oder gebildet nach dem heiligen Ahnenstier*" (J. Irle, *Die Herero*, p. 105).

[5] J. Hahn, *l.c.*; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, pp. 168 *sq.*; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, pp. 102-104.

of the custom; they say that the wife of a chief having in a quarrel bitten her husband's hand, he, in revenge, ordered her front teeth to be knocked out, and all the men in the tribe followed his example; but this does not explain why they afterwards knocked out their own."[1] The Babimpes, another tribe of South Africa, knock out both upper and lower front teeth;[2] the Mathlekas file their teeth to stumps;[3] and the Bashinje file them to points.[4] The Banabya or Banyai file their middle front teeth "in order to be like their cattle."[5] "The Makalakas or Bashapatani file the upper front teeth, like the Damaras, with a stone; the Batongo knock out the two upper front teeth with an axe. . . . This rite is practised as a sort of circumcision."[6] The Mashona file a wedge-shaped or triangular opening (like an inverted V) between two front teeth.[7] The Maio, Baluba (or Bashilanga), and Kizuata-shito file their teeth; the Bakuba break out the two upper front teeth.[8]

Mutilations of the teeth in West Africa.

Similar mutilations are practised widely in West Africa. Thus "the Mussurongo and Ambriz blacks knock out the two middle front teeth in the upper jaw on arriving at the age of puberty. The Mushicongos are distinguished from them by having all their front teeth, top and bottom, chipped into points."[9] Among the Otando people (a branch of the Ashira nation) the fashion of mutilating the teeth varies. "Many file the two upper incisors in the shape of a sharp cone, and the four lower ones are also filed to a sharp point. Others file the four upper incisors to a point. A few among them have the two upper incisors pulled out."[10] Among the Aponos both men and women extract the two middle upper incisors and file the rest, as well as the four lower, to points.[11] The Ishogos and Aṣhangos "adopt the custom of taking out their two middle upper incisors, and of filing the other incisors to a point; but the Ashangos do not adopt the custom of filing also the upper incisors. Some of the women have the four upper incisors taken out."[12] Among the Apingi both men and women file their teeth.[13] Among the Songo negroes of

[1] David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), pp. 532 *sq.* With the latter explanation of the custom compare the explanation of it given by some tribes of Celebes (above, p. 187).

[2] D. Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 263.

[3] Arbousset et Daumas, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration* (Paris, 1842), p. 357.

[4] D. Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 442.

[5] J. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, ii. 160 *sq.*

[6] J. Chapman, *op. cit.* ii. 215.

[7] W. M. Kerr, "Journey from Cape Town inland to Lake Nyassa," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, viii. (1886) p. 69.

[8] "Silva Porto's Journey from Bihe (Bie) to the Bakuba Country," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, New Series, ix. (1887) pp. 755, 756.

[9] J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo* (London, 1875), i. 262 *sq.*

[10] P. B. Du Chaillu, *A Journey to Ashongo-land* (London, 1867), p. 210.

[11] P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.* p. 255.

[12] P. B. Du Chaillu, *op. cit.* p. 331. Compare *ibid.* pp. 285 *sq.*

[13] P. B. Du Chaillu, *Explorations and Adventures in Equatorial Africa* (London, 1861), p. 442.

Loanda it is a common custom to file the upper incisor teeth to a point.[1] Kalunda women often file the upper incisor teeth so as to round, not point, them; and they break the two opposite teeth quite out.[2] The Musulungus, who occupy the islands of the Congo and a part of the north bank, "have no tattoo, but they pierce the nose septum and extract the two central and upper incisors; the Muxi-Congoes or Lower Congoese chip or file out a chevron in the near sides of the same teeth."[3] Amongst the Bayaka of Loango it is the universal custom to point the upper front teeth.[4] However, in Loango the fashion of mutilating the teeth varies. Some people knock them out, others file them either horizontally or so as to leave a triangular gap; others again point them.[5] Further, the custom of filing the teeth to a point is said to prevail among all the negro tribes of the west coast of Africa from the Casamance River in Senegambia to the Gaboon.[6] Among the Krumen and Grebus "the two middle incisors of the upper jaw are filed away, leaving an angular space."[7]

Mutilations of the teeth in Central and Eastern Africa.

Similar deformations of the teeth are practised by many tribes of Central and Eastern Africa. Thus among the Bakuba, in the valley of the Kasai River, a southern tributary of the Congo, the two upper front teeth are always knocked out at puberty.[8] Again, with regard to the tribes about the southern half of Lake Tanganyika we are told that they chip the two upper front incisors, or all of them, and extract the two centre front teeth in the lower jaw.[9] Again, some of the Wakhutu "have a practice—exceptional in these latitudes—of chipping their incisors to sharp points, which imitate well enough the armature of the reptilia."[10] The Wadoe

[1] P. Pogge, *Im Reiche des Muata Jamwo* (Berlin, 1880), p. 36.

[2] P. Pogge, *op. cit.* p. 98.

[3] R. F. Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land* (London, 1876), p. 89.

[4] Paul Güssfeldt, *Die Loango-Expedition* (Leipsic, 1879), p. 198.

[5] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste* (Jena, 1874), i. 185.

[6] J. B. Bérenger-Feraud, *Les Peuples de la Sénégambie* (Paris, 1879), pp. 289, 297, 302 *sq.*, 308. Compare S. M. X. Golberry, *Fragments d'un Voyage en Afrique* (Paris, 1802), p. 406 (where it is said that the teeth of the natives near Sierra Leone are pointed "like those of a shark"); T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (London, 1803), pp. 104 *sq.*; A. G. Laing, *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima Countries in Western Africa* (London, 1825), p. 199; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, xii. 380; W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841* (London, 1848), ii. 297.

[7] W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *op. cit.* i. 125.

[8] L. Wolf, "Reisen in Central-Africa," *Verhandlungen der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xiv. (1887) p. 84; H. Wissmann, L. Wolf, C. von François, H. Müller, *Im Inneren Afrikas, die Erforschung des Kassai* (Leipsic, 1885), p. 242.

[9] V. L. Cameron, "Examination of the Southern Half of Lake Tanganyika," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xlv. (1875) p. 215.

[10] R. F. Burton, "The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxix. (1859) p. 97.

"frequently chip away the two inner sides of the upper central incisors, leaving a small chevron-shaped hole. This mutilation however is practised almost throughout Intertropical Africa."[1] The Wasagara "chip the teeth to points like sharks."[2] The Wahehe chip the two upper incisors, and some men extract three or four of the lower front teeth.[3] Among the Wapare men and women have the four upper incisors pointed "like sharks," and often the two lower teeth are knocked out at puberty.[4] The Makua of East Africa have as a rule their front teeth filed to a point.[5] Of the tribes visited by Captains Speke and Grant on their famous journey, it is said that "they generally wear down, with a bit of iron, the centre of their incisor teeth; others, the N'geendo, for example, convert all the incisors into eye-teeth shape, making them to resemble the teeth of the crocodile."[6] Among the Wanyamwezi a triangular opening is made in the upper front teeth by chipping away the edges of the two middle incisors; the women extract two of the lower front teeth. The former custom—that of making a triangular opening in the middle of the upper front teeth—is shared by many African peoples.[7] The A-Kamba sharpen to a point the incisor teeth in the upper jaw and knock out the two middle incisors from the lower jaw. The teeth are sharpened at the first circumcision ceremony, and by the man who operates on that occasion. If a child dies who has not had the middle incisor tooth of the lower jaw knocked out, this tooth is removed after death, else it is believed that some one will soon die in the village.[8] The Nandi pull out the two middle incisor teeth in the lower jaw, and a chief or medicine-man has in addition one of the upper incisors removed. Besides the extraction of teeth the Nandi practise circumcision both on men and women.[9] Almost all Masai men and most Masai women knock out the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw, a custom which is also very common among the

[1] R. F. Burton, "The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxix. (1859) p. 99.

[2] R. F. Burton, *op. cit.* p. 131.

[3] R. F. Burton, *op. cit.* p. 138.

[4] O. Baumann, *Usambara* (Berlin, 1891), p. 222.

[5] H. E. O'Neill, "Journey in the Makua and Lomwe Countries," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, New Series, iv. (1882) p. 197.

[6] Capt. Grant, "On the Native Tribes visited by Captains Speke and Grant in Equatorial Africa," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iii. (1865) pp. 88 *sq.*

[7] E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, xiii. 218; F. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 84; R. A. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda* (London, 1889), p. 287; J. Becker, *La Vie en Afrique* (Paris and Brussels, 1887), pp. 187, 259.

[8] C. W. Hobley, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba*, pp. 17 *sq.*, 67 (unpublished).

[9] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1904), ii. 864, 868; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, (London, 1902), pp. 38, 39.

Mutilations of the teeth in Eastern and Central Africa.

Nilotic tribes. The Masai also circumcise both men and women about puberty.[1] In British East Africa the Awa-Wanga draw the four middle teeth of the lower jaw; the Ketosh extract two or three, the Ithako and Isukha only one. Were a man's teeth not drawn, it is believed that he would certainly be killed in war; and if his wife's teeth were not drawn, he would also be slain in battle. People laugh at a man who keeps all his teeth; they say he is like a donkey.[2] The Ja-luo, a Nilotic people of Kavirondo, who do not practise circumcision, draw the six middle teeth of the lower jaw. If a man has not these teeth drawn, it is said that his wife will die soon after marriage.[3] Similarly the Bantu Kavirondo, who also do not practise circumcision, "usually pull out the two middle incisor teeth in the lower jaw. Both the men and women do this. It is thought that if a man retains all his lower incisor teeth he will be killed in warfare, and that if his wife has failed to pull out her teeth it might cause her husband to perish."[4] The Basoga also extract two of the lower front teeth.[5] The Banyoro pull out the four lower incisors; "this is a practice learnt, no doubt, from the neighbouring Nilotic tribes. As individuals of both sexes grow old, their upper incisor teeth, having no opposition, grow long and project from the gum in a slanting manner, which gives the mouth an ugly hippopotamine appearance. The Banyoro do not circumcise."[6] The males of all the Congo pygmies seen by Sir Harry Johnston were circumcised, "and all in both sexes had their upper incisor teeth and canines sharpened to a point, after the fashion of the Babira and Upper Congo tribes."[7] Among the Lur, to the west of the Albert Nyanza Lake, the four lower incisors are extracted, or rather pushed out, at the age of puberty.[8] The Latuka also remove the four lower incisors.[9] The Monbutto, in the upper valley of the Congo, file the upper middle incisors so as to present a vacant triangular space in the row of teeth;[10] but "they neither break out their lower incisor teeth, like the black nations on the northern river plains, nor do they file them to points, like the Niam-niam." They practise circumcision.[11] Among the tribal marks of the Agar and Atwot is

[1] Sir Harry Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate* (London, 1904), ii. 803, 804; A. C. Hollis, *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), pp. 261 *sq.*, 296 *sq.*, 299, 313.

[2] C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, (London, 1902), p. 20.

[3] C. W. Hobley, *op. cit.* p. 31; compare Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 783.

[4] Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 728; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 464.

[5] L. Decle, *l.c.*

[6] Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 581. Compare *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals* (London, 1888), pp. 61, 194.

[7] Sir Harry Johnston, *op. cit.* ii. 538.

[8] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*, p. 154.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 237.

[10] *Ibid.* p. 212.

[11] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (London, 1878), ii. 53.

the removal of the four lower incisor teeth and the two canines.[1] The Niam-niam "fall in with the custom, common to the whole of Central Africa, of filing the incisor teeth to a point, for the purpose of effectually gripping the arm of an adversary either in wrestling or in single combat."[2] Among the Upotos of the middle Congo the practice of filing the teeth is general. Men as a rule file only the teeth of the upper jaw, but women file the teeth of the lower jaw as well.[3] Among the Dinkas of the Upper Nile "both sexes break off the lower incisor teeth, a custom which they practise in common with the majority of the natives of the district of the Bahr-el-Ghazal. The object of this hideous mutilation is hard to determine; its effect appears in their inarticulate language."[4] The Nuehr, a tribe of the same region, akin to the Dinkas, similarly knock out the two front teeth of the lower jaw as soon as they appear in both sexes. The mutilation affects many sounds in the language, giving them a peculiar intonation which it is hard to imitate.[5] In the Madi or Moru tribe the upper and lower incisor teeth are extracted from both sexes at puberty.[6] The Bendeh, a pagan tribe of the Soudan, file all their teeth, except the molars, into a round shape.[7] The Somrai and Gaberi, of the eastern French Soudan, remove an upper and a lower incisor tooth; the Sara, of the same region, remove two of each.[8]

Custom of knocking out teeth in America.

In contrast to the natives of Africa, among whom the custom of removing or mutilating the teeth is widely spread, almost all the Indian tribes of America appear to have wisely refrained from maiming and mutilating themselves in this absurd fashion. However, the natives of the province of Huancavelica in Peru pulled out two or three teeth both in the upper and in the lower jaw of all their children, as soon as the second set of teeth had made its appearance. According to tradition the custom was instituted by an Inca as a punishment for the treason of a Huancavelica chief,[9] but the story was probably invented to explain the origin of a

[1] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, pp. 238 *sq.*

[2] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, i. 276.

[3] M. Lindeman, *Les Upotos* (Brussels, 1906), p. 21.

[4] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, i. 50; compare *id.* pp. 135 *sq.*

[5] E. Marno, *Reisen im Gebiete des Blauen und Weissen Nil* (Vienna, 1874), p. 345.

[6] R. W. Felkin, "Notes on the Madi or Moru Tribe of Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xii. (1882-1884) p. 315.

[7] *Travels of an Arab Merchant* [Mohammed Ibn-Omar El Tounsy] *in Soudan* (London, 1854), p. 224.

[8] G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, ii. 683.

[9] Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1869-1871), ii. 426 *sq.*; Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, translated by Clements R. Markham (London, 1864), pp. 177, 181. The number of teeth extracted in each jaw was two according to Garcilasso de la Vega, but three according to Cieza de Leon.

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practice of which the real meaning had been forgotten. Some Indians of Central America used to knock out a front tooth of every captive whom they took in war.[1] This they may have done either to mark him or perhaps to have in their possession a piece of his person, by means of which they imagined they could control him on the principle of sympathetic magic.

The custom of removing teeth is not an imitation of the totem; probably it is based on some savage superstition as to puberty which we do not understand.

From the foregoing survey we may gather that, though some tribes of South Africa are said to draw their teeth in order to resemble the cattle which they revere,[2] yet there is no sufficient ground for holding that the custom of extracting or mutilating the teeth is an attempt to imitate the totemic animal, or indeed that it has any direct connection with totemism. If we ask what is the real origin of a practice, which can hardly have helped and must often have hindered its practitioners in their hard struggle for existence, we may safely dismiss as insufficient the answer that it was simply designed to adorn and beautify the face.[3] That it is now regarded as an ornament by the people who disfigure themselves in this way is certain, but this is only an instance of a taste which has been perverted by long habit. With far greater probability we may suppose that this curious form of self-mutilation, whether it is practised as a rite of initiation at puberty or as a rite of mourning after a death, is based on some deep-seated superstition, but what the exact nature of the superstition may be remains obscure. The late eminent Dutch ethnologist G. A. Wilken suggested somewhat vaguely that the extraction of teeth at puberty is a sacrifice;[4] but why or to whom the sacrifice was offered he did not attempt to determine. I have conjectured that the practice may perhaps have been intended to facilitate the reincarnation either of the patient himself or of some one else at a future time; but I admit that the conjecture seems far-fetched and improbable. We might be able to understand the custom, as well as the kindred custom of circumcision and other mutilations of the genital organs, if only we knew how primitive man explained to himself the mysterious phenomena of puberty; but that is one of the many unsolved problems of anthropology.

In connection with the practice of extracting or mutilating the teeth at puberty may be mentioned the widespread African custom of putting all children to death who cut their upper teeth before the

[1] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 764.

[2] See above, pp. 188, 189. Observers have noted the resemblance of pointed human teeth to the teeth of sharks or crocodiles. See above, pp. 190, 191. But it is not said that the natives have adopted the custom of pointing their teeth for the purpose of assimilating themselves to these animals.

[3] This was the view of H. von Ihering ("Die künstliche Deformirung der Zähne," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xiv. (1882) pp. 217 *sq.*).

[4] G. A. Wilken, "Over de mutilatie der tanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) p. 17.

lower, because it is believed that such children will be wicked and will bring misfortune on all about them. The custom is particularly common among the tribes of Eastern Africa. For example, we are told that "the *kigogo*, or child who cuts the two upper incisors before the lower, is either put to death or he is given away or sold to the slave-merchant, under the impression that he will bring disease, calamity, and death into the household. The Wasawahili and the Zanzibar Arabs have the same superstition: the former kill the child; the latter, after a *khitmah*, or prelection of the Koran, make it swear, by nodding its head, unable to articulate, that it will not injure those about him."[1] Among the Banyoro "the cutting of children's upper incisors before the lower appears to be feared as bringing misfortune, and when it occurs, the *mbandua* (magician) is at once summoned to perform certain dances for the protection of the child, and is rewarded by a goat."[2] But in most tribes the unlucky children were put to death. Among the Wajagga of Mount Kilimandjaro, in East Africa, a child who cuts his upper teeth first is generally put to death. If it is exceptionally allowed to live, the parents take great care to conceal the misfortune, for the popular belief is that such a child will afterwards murder his or her spouse, or that the spouse will die soon after marriage. It is a lifelong disgrace to any man or woman to have cut the upper teeth before the lower. If he is a man, he will get no girl to marry him except such a one as is despised and rejected by everybody else; if she is a woman, nobody but an ugly old man will take her to wife.[3]

African custom of putting to death children who cut their upper teeth before the lower.

P. 27. **The bone . . . which some Australian tribes thrust**

[1] R. F. Burton, "The Lake Regions of Central Equatorial Africa," *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xxix. (1859) pp. 91 *sq.* See further C. Velten, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli* (Göttingen, 1903), p. 24; J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x. (1878) p. 395; O. Baumann, *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete* (Berlin, 1891), pp. 43, 131, 237; A. Widenmann, "Die Kilimandscharo-Bevölkerung," *Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft*, No. 129 (Gotha, 1899), p. 90; Ch. Delhaise, *Notes Ethnographiques sur quelques Peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), pp. 33 *sq.*; Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 416 *sq.*; H. Grützner, "Ueber die Gebräuche der Basutho," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte, 1877*, p. (78) (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix.); D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 577; J. B. Labat, *Relation Historique de l'Ethiopie Occidentale* (Paris, 1732), ii. 115; R. Clarke, "The Inhabitants of Sierra Leone," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, ii. (1863) p. 333; J. F. Schön and S. Crowther, *Journals* (London, 1842), p. 50; W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841* (London, 1848), i. 243 *sq.*

[2] *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*, p. 94.

[3] M. Merker, "Rechtsverhältnisse und Sitten der Wadschagga," *Petermanns Mitteilungen, Ergänzungsheft* No. 138 (Gotha, 1902), p. 13.

The custom of wearing a bone or stick through the nose seems not to be totemic.

through their nose, etc.—There is nothing to shew that this custom is connected with totemism, in particular that it is an imitation of the totemic animal. Like the custom of knocking out teeth, the practice of wearing a bone or stick thrust through the nose probably originated in superstition and not in a mere desire to beautify the person. In the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes of Central Australia, when a boy's nose has been bored, he strips a piece of bark from a gum tree and throws it as far as he can in the direction where his mother, or rather the spirit of which his mother is a reincarnation, used to encamp in the far-off dream times (*alcheringa*).[1] Similarly, as we saw,[2] he throws his extracted tooth in the same direction, which seems to shew that to the minds of the natives there is some similarity or connecting link between the customs of tooth-extraction and nose-boring. In the same tribes, when a girl's nose has been bored, which is commonly done by her husband soon after she comes into his possession, she fills a small wooden vessel full of sand and facing towards the quarter where her mother's spirit camped in the *alcheringa* days, she executes a series of short jumps, keeping her feet close together and her legs stiff, while she moves the sand in the vessel about as if she were winnowing seed. Neglect to perform this curious ceremony would, it is said, be regarded as a grave offence against her mother.[3] In the Warramunga tribe every medicine-man wears a structure called *kupitja* thrust through his nose; it is not only an emblem of his profession but is associated in some mysterious way with his magical powers.[4] In the Pacific island of Yap, one of the Caroline group, all who die before their noses are pierced have the operation performed on their dead bodies in order, as the natives say, that they may be able to find the right house in heaven.[5] This shews that the custom is supposed in some way to have a direct bearing on the life after death, though perhaps only in so far as a person not so marked might be regarded as imperfect and therefore as not entitled to a good place in the other world. It deserves to be observed that most of the bodily mutilations which savages voluntarily inflict on themselves, such as piercing the nose, the lips, and the ears, the practice of circumcision, subincision, and so forth, are concerned with the natural openings of the body, and may therefore perhaps have been designed to guard against the intrusion of dangerous objects, whether material or spiritual, which might insinuate themselves through these passages into the person. One

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 459; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 615.

[2] See above, p. 183.

[3] Spencer and Gillen, *ll.cc.*

[4] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 484. The structure seems to be a little cylindrical mass of tightly-wound fur-string.

[5] A. Senfft, "Die Rechtssitten der Jap-Eingeborenen," *Globus*, xci. (1907) p. 143.

of these natural openings is the navel, and though mutilations of that part of the body seem to be rare, they are not unknown. Thus the Rendilis, a nomadic tribe of Samburu-land in Eastern Equatorial Africa, "are circumcised in the Mohammedan manner, and, in addition, they are mutilated in a most extraordinary fashion by having their navels cut out, leaving a deep hole. They are the only tribe mutilated in this manner with the exception of the Marle, who inhabit the district north of 'Basso Ebor' (Lake Stephanie), and who are probably an offshoot of the Rendili."[1] Mutilation of the navel.

P. 28. **Tribes . . . distinguished by their tattoo marks.**—The practice of having tribal marks tattooed or incised on the body is very common, especially in Africa, but there is usually no reason to regard such marks as imitations of totems; for the mark is the same for all members of a tribe, whereas the totemic clans are always subdivisions of a tribe, so that marks borne by all the tribes-people indiscriminately cannot be totemic. In Africa the tribal mark usually consists of a number of cuts arranged in a particular pattern most commonly on the face, but also on other parts of the body. For example, the Dahomans mark themselves with a perpendicular cut between the eyebrows; the Whydahs cut both cheeks so as to give them the appearance of being pitted with the small-pox; and "the inhabitants of the neighbouring states are likewise known by the scarifications on their bodies, every country making use of this custom in their own manner. The Ardrahs make an incision in each cheek, turning up a part of the flesh towards the ears, and healing it in that position. The Mabees are distinguished by three long oblique cuts on one cheek and a cross on the other."[2] "The *scarin*, or tattoos, which are common to all Negro nations in these latitudes, and by which their country is instantly known, are, in Bornou, particularly unbecoming. The Bornouese have twenty cuts or lines on each side of the face, which are drawn from the corners of the mouth towards the angles of the lower jaw and the cheek-bone; and it is quite distressing to witness the torture the poor little children undergo who are thus marked, enduring not only the heat, but the attacks of millions of flies. They have also one cut on the forehead in the centre, six on each arm, six on each leg and thigh, four on each breast, and nine on each side, just above the hips."[3] Tattooing as a tribal mark.

[1] A. Arkell-Hardwick, *An Ivory Trader in North Kenia* (London, 1903), p. 228.

[2] Archibald Dalzel, *History of Dahomy* (London, 1793), p. xviii.

[3] Denham and Clapperton, *Travels and Discoveries in Northern and Central Africa* (London, 1831), iii. 175. For more examples of such tribal marks in Africa, see "Dr. Livingstone's Expedition to Lake Nyassa," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxiii. (1863) p. 256; V. L. Cameron, "Examination of the Southern Half of Lake Tanganyika," *ibid.* xlv. (1875) p. 215; Keith Johnston, "Notes of a Trip from Zanzibar to Usambara," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical*

P. 29. **These Australian tribal badges are sometimes representations of the totem.**—This is inexact. What is affirmed by the

Society, New Series, i. (1879) p. 556; Joseph Thomson, "Notes on the Basin of the River Rovuma, East Africa," *ibid.* N.S. iv. (1882) pp. 74, 79; H. E. O'Neill, "Journey in the Makua and Lomwe Countries," *ibid.* p. 196; W. M. Kerr, "Journey from Cape Town overland to Lake Nyassa," *ibid.* N.S. viii. (1886) p. 72; C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, ii. 122; J. Becker, *La Vie en Afrique* (Paris and Brussels, 1887), ii. 187, 305; A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 313 *sq.*, 317, 318, 319, 323; T. J. Hutchinson, *Impressions of Western Africa* (London, 1858), p. 187; J. Adams, *Sketches taken during Ten Voyages in Africa*, pp. 6, 9, 16, 24, 33, 42; W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841* (London, 1848), i. 124 *sq.*, 242, 345; J. A. Grant, *A Walk across Africa* (Edinburgh and London, 1864), p. 174; G. Nachtigal, *Sahara and Sudan*, ii. (Berlin, 1879) pp. 142, 178, 622, 683; H. H. Johnston, "On the Races of the Congo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 474; Herbert Ward, *Five Years with the Congo Cannibals* (London, 1890), p. 136; Ch. Delhaise, *Notes Ethnographiques sur quelques Peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), p. 27; E. Delmar Morgan, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii. (1888) p. 235, speaking of the Congo tribes says, "The tattoo marks of the Babwendes form a lozenge shape on the forehead, those of the Batekes are arranged in lines on both cheeks and on the breast. It has been remarked by a recent writer (Dr. Chavanne) that tattooing is regarded by the natives as a protection against their fetish or evil spirit"; R. Clarke, "The Inhabitants of Sierra Leone," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, ii. (1863) p. 355; T. V. Robins, "Notes and Sketches on the Niger," *ibid.* v. (1867) p. 86; *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals*, pp. 60 *sq.*, 237, 338, 342, 346; A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, pp. 289 *sq.*; G. A. Lethbridge Banbury, *Sierra Leone* (London, 1888), p. 199; E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, xi. 813 *sq.*, xii. 380, 384, 396, 721; T. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone* (London, 1803), pp. 105-107; J. Matthews, *A Voyage to Sierra Leone* (London, 1791), pp. 110 *sq.*; R. F. Burton, *Two Trips to Gorilla Land* (London, 1876), ii. 234; G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (Edinburgh, 1878), i. 50, 276; Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 423. Similar evidence might easily be multiplied. The fullest description of tribal tattoo marks in Africa which I have met with is given by H. Hale from his observations of negro slaves in Brazil. See Ch. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition (New York, 1851), i. 54-64. Among the Maoris, according to one account, each tribe was distinguished by its tattoo marks. See W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, iii. 354 *sqq.*; W. Brown, *New Zealand and its Aborigines* (London, 1845), p. 31. However, other good authorities deny that the Maori tattoo marks denote the tribe to which the person belongs. See E. Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand* (London, 1843), ii. 43; E. Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (London, 1851), pp. 16 *sq.* "The Caroline Islanders tattoo themselves not out of motives of decency, nor altogether for ornament, but as a means of distinguishing their families and clans, and of retaining the memory of persons, objects, and events" (*United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnology and Philology*, by Horatio Hale (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 76). The Shans and Karens of Burma have their distinctive tribal marks produced by tattooing. See Capt. C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma* (London, 1878), p. 238.

authority (Mr. Chatfield) is only that "the raised cicatrices on the bodies of the natives are the blazon of their respective classes or totems." But the blazon of a totem (by which the writer probably means a totemic clan) need not be a representation of the totem. Moreover, Mr. Chatfield's statement has not been confirmed by trustworthy authorities and its accuracy is doubted.[1] The Central and North Central tribes investigated by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen are in the habit of making many scars on their bodies by cutting the skin with flint or glass and then rubbing ashes or the down of an eagle-hawk into the wounds. Sometimes the scars stretch right across the chest or abdomen. As a rule they are longer and more numerous on men than on women. But at the present day their form and arrangement have no special meaning; they indicate neither the tribe nor the class nor the totem. The natives regard them as purely decorative, and Messrs. Spencer and Gillen could find no evidence in the customs and traditions of the tribes that these cicatrices ever had a deeper meaning. Indeed the enquirers confess that they are very sceptical as to the supposed symbolism of these marks in any part of Australia.[2] In the tribes of North-West Central Queensland the bodies of both men and women are scarred with transverse cuts across the trunk from the level of the nipples to the navel, and with a few on the shoulders; some tribes add scars on the back. These marks are optional, not compulsory, and the custom of making them is dying out in this part of Australia. Like Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, Mr. Roth could discover no pictorial or hidden signification attached to the marks.[3] However, the explorer E. J. Eyre affirmed that "there are many varieties in the form, number, or arrangement of the scars, distinguishing the different tribes, so that one stranger meeting with another anywhere in the woods, can at once tell, from the manner in which he is tattooed, the country and tribe to which he belongs, if not very remote."[4] Again, he observes that "each tribe has a distinctive mode of making their incisions. Some have scars running completely across the chest, from one axillar to the other, whilst others have merely dotted lines; some have circles and semicircles formed on the apex of the shoulder, others small dots only."[5] Another writer, speaking of the Australian aborigines in general, says: "They also tattoo, which is a most painful operation. In some tribes the whole back and part of the chest are covered, and the women are also tattooed, but not to the same

The body scars of the Australian aborigines are said by some to be tribal marks; but this is denied by others.

[1] Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 66, note *; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 468, 475.

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 41-43; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 54-56.

[3] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 114 *sq.*

[4] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, (London, 1845), ii. 333.

[5] E. J. Eyre, *op. cit.* ii. 335.

extent. Among others, the men only have a single row, high up on the back. The operation is always performed by a man, and consists in making a number of broad and deep gashes in the flesh; those on the men are generally about an inch and a half in length. It is astonishing how stoically this horrible operation is borne. I once saw a young man undergoing the operation, and he bore it with the greatest fortitude, although his back was literally cut to pieces. By some process, with which I am not acquainted, the cut, when healed, protrudes half an inch from the skin, forming large lumps, which are considered a great ornament."[1]

In some Australian tribes the cutting of the scars is an initiatory ceremony performed on young men about puberty.

Although in some tribes these elaborate body-marks are now regarded as purely ornamental, it is difficult to suppose that they have always been so. It seems more likely that the decorative effect of the scars was an after-thought, and that in submitting to the severe pain of being hacked and gashed in this cruel fashion the savage was originally impelled by some more powerful motive than the wish to improve his personal appearance. This suspicion is confirmed by observing that in some tribes the cutting of the gashes forms an important part of the initiatory ceremonies through which every lad must pass before he ranks as a full-grown man, and that in these tribes a sort of mystic importance appears to be attached to the scars in relation to women. Thus in the Port Lincoln tribes of South Australia the last and most important of the initiatory rites consisted in giving the novice a new name and carving the marks on his back. This part of the ceremony has been described as follows: "Everything being prepared, several men open veins in their lower arms, while the young men are raised to swallow the first drops of the blood. They are then directed to kneel on their hands and knees, so as to give a horizontal position to their backs, which are covered all over with blood: as soon as this is sufficiently coagulated, one person marks with his thumb the places in the blood where the incisions are to be made, namely, one in the middle of the neck, and two rows from the shoulders down to the hips, at intervals of about a third of an inch between each cut. These are named *Manka*, and are ever after held in such veneration, that it would be deemed a great profanation to allude to them in the presence of women. Each incision requires several cuts with the blunt chips of quartz to make them deep enough, and is then carefully drawn apart; yet the poor fellows do not shrink, or utter a sound; but I have seen their friends so overcome by sympathy with their pain, that they made attempts to stop the cruel proceedings, which was of course not allowed by the other men. During the cutting, which is performed with astonishing expedition, as many of the men as can

[1] A. A. C. Le Souëf, in R. Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, ii. 296.

find room crowd around the youths, repeating in a subdued tone, but very rapidly, the following formula:—

"*Kauwaka kanya marra marra*
Karndo kanya marra marra
Pilbirri kanya marra marra.

"This incantation, which is derived from their ancestors, is apparently void of any coherent sense; the object of its repetition, however, is to alleviate the pain of the young men, and to prevent dangerous consequences from the dreadful lacerations."[1] It should be observed that these tribes practise circumcision as the second initiatory rite to which all youths must be subjected in their progress to manhood; yet even circumcision is deemed of less importance than the cutting of these cruel gashes in the bodies of the young men.[2]

Dieri ceremony of cutting the backs of novices after circumcision.

Again, among the Dieri the initiatory rite of making the cuts in the backs of the novices was subsequent to the rite of circumcision and presumably was deemed not less important, though in this tribe the young men received their new names at circumcision, not at the cutting of the gashes. "The next ceremony, following circumcision," says Mr. S. Gason, "is that now to be described. A young man, without previous warning, is taken out of the camp by the old men, whereon the women set up crying, and so continue for almost half the night. On the succeeding morning at sunrise, the men (young and old), excepting his father and elder brothers, surround him, directing him to close his eyes. One of the old men then binds another old man round his arm, near the shoulder, with string, pretty tightly, and with a sharp piece of flint lances the main artery of the arm, about an inch above the elbow, causing an instant flow of blood, which is permitted to play on the young man until his whole frame is covered with blood. As soon as the old man becomes exhausted from loss of blood, another is operated on, and so on two or three others in succession, until the young man becomes quite stiff and sore from the great quantity of blood adhering to his person. The next stage in the ceremony is much worse for the young man. He is told to lie with his face down, when one or two young men cut him on the neck and shoulders with a sharp flint, about a sixteenth of an inch in depth, in from six to twelve places, which incisions create scars, which until death show that he has gone through the *Willyaroo*."[3] A Dieri man

[1] C. W. Schürmann, "The Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 232 *sq.* Compare A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 669 *sq.*

[2] C. W. Schürmann, *op. cit.* pp. 228-231. These tribes also practise subincision, "though without any particular ceremony" (C. W. Schürmann, *op. cit.* p. 231).

[3] S. Gason, "The Manners and Customs of the Dieyerie Tribe of Australian Aborigines," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 270. Compare

points with pride to these scars. Until they are healed, he may not turn his face to a woman nor eat in her presence.[1]

It seems likely that in many other tribes the raising of these scars or cicatrices on the body similarly formed at one time or another a rite of initiation which was practised on young men at puberty, either alone or in addition to other bodily mutilations, such as circumcision, subincision, and the extraction of teeth. Probably the ultimate explanation of all these worse than needless tortures, which savages inflict on each other and submit to with a misplaced heroism, is to be sought in the same direction, namely, in the ideas which primitive man has formed of the nature of puberty. But, as I have already repeatedly pointed out, these ideas remain for us civilised men very obscure.

Custom of tattooing women but not men.

P. 29.—**The women alone tattoo.**—In some parts of New Guinea the women are tattooed on many parts of their bodies, but the men are scarcely or not at all tattooed.[2] In Tubetube, a small island off the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, "of old no male was tattooed except for sickness. Women, on the other hand, were always tattooed profusely, and the reason given for this is that it makes the girl look nice and accentuates her good skin. A girl's face would be tattooed some time before puberty but usually after her nose had been pierced, the scalp and neck apparently not being touched. Nothing more is done until the girl reaches puberty, when the chest, belly, flanks, arms and hands are tattooed after the first catamenia ceases."[3] Among the natives of the Admiralty Islands tattooing is almost entirely confined to the women, with whom it is universal. They "are tattooed with rings round the eyes and all over the face, and in diagonal lines over the upper part of the front of the body, the lines crossing one another so as to form a series of lozenge-shaped spaces."[4] Amongst the

A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 658 *sq.*

[1] A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 659.

[2] O. Finsch, *Neu-Guinea und seine Bewohner* (Bremen, 1865), p. 139; Moresby, in *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xliv. (1874) pp. 7, 12; Wyat Gill, *ibid.* p. 24; *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xlv. (1875) p. 167; O. C. Stone, "Description of the Country and Natives of Port Moresby and Neighbourhood, New Guinea," *ibid.* xlvi. (1876) pp. 58 *sq.*; W. G. Lawes, "Notes on New Guinea and its Inhabitants," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society, 1880*, pp. 607, 614; Dr. Comrie, "Anthropological Notes on New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vi. (1877) p. 110; W. Y. Turner, "On the Ethnology of the Motu," *ibid.* vii. (1878) p. 481; W. G. Lawes, "Ethnological Notes on the Motu, Koitapu and Koiari Tribes of New Guinea," *ibid.* p. 370; C. Hager, *Kaiser Wilhelms-Land* (Leipsic, *n.d.*) p. 92; O. S. Stone, *A Few Months in New Guinea* (London, 1880), pp. 78 *sq.*; C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 73.

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), p. 493.

[4] H. N. Moseley, "On the Inhabitants of the Admiralty Islands,"

natives of Siara (a district in the south of New Ireland) and the neighbouring islands of St. John and Caens none but the married women are tattooed, and the operation is performed only by women.[1] Similarly in Fiji the women alone are tattooed and the marks for the most part are imprinted on a broad band round the loins and thighs, these being the parts of the body hidden by the *liku*, a fringed waist-band which is worn short before marriage but is much lengthened after the birth of the first child. However, young Fijian women have barbed lines tattooed also on their hands and fingers; and middle-aged women have blue patches at the corners of the mouth. The custom of tattooing is said to have been ordained by the god Ndengei and its neglect is punished after death; for in the other world the ghost of an untattooed woman is chased by the ghosts of tattooed women with sharp shells in their hands, as if to do to her spirit what should have been done to her body in life. So strong was this superstition in former days that when a girl died before she was tattooed her friends would sometimes paint the blue lines on her corpse in order to deceive the priest and escape the anger of the gods. The operation of tattooing is performed only by women.[2] In some of the Chin tribes of Burma all the women have their faces tattooed. The operation is begun in childhood and is gradually completed, sometimes not for a good many years. The pattern differs with the tribes. Men are not tattooed at all. A Chin woman's beauty is estimated by her tattooing. The origin of the custom is still uncertain, but as it is followed only by the tribes who border on or are near to the Burmese, it has been suggested that the first intention was to protect the women from being carried off, or to allow them to be easily discovered if they had been stolen away.[3] According to a Chinese writer, it is a custom of the Li, the aborigines of the island of Hainan, that a woman's face should be tattooed just before marriage according to a pattern prescribed by her husband, who has received it from his ancestors; not the least deviation from the traditional pattern is allowed, lest the husband's ancestors should not be able to recognise his wife after death.[4]

Journal of the Anthropological Institute, vi. (1877) p. 401.

[1] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 304 *sq.* Compare A. J. Duffield, "On the Natives of New Ireland," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv. (1886) p. 117: "The tattooing and cuttings on the flesh were entirely confined to women and the head men. The tattooing is abundant at the corners of the eyes and mouth."

[2] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, Second Edition (London, 1860), i. 160; Ch. Wilkes, *The United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition (New York, 1851), iii. 355; *The United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology*, by Horatio Hale (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 63.

[3] (Sir) J. George Scott and J. P. Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, Part i. vol. i. (Rangoon, 1900), p. 466.

[4] (Sir) J. G. Scott, *France and Tongking* (London, 1885), p. 348.

Aino women tattooed, but not the men.

Among the Ainos the women are tattooed but not the men. The parts of the body thus marked are the lips, the lower arms, the back of the hands, and in some districts the forehead between the eyebrows. The tattooing of the upper lip gives an Aino woman the appearance of wearing a moustache with the points turned up on her cheeks. This ornamentation or disfigurement of the mouth is begun early, often in a girl's sixth year, and is added to from time to time but not completed till marriage. The tattooing of the hands and arms is done at a single sitting, not before the fourteenth year of the girl's life. The operation is performed by old women.[1] The tattooing of an Aino woman's lips is never finished till she has been betrothed; when it is complete, "all men know that she is either a betrothed or married woman." If a woman marries without being properly tattooed, she commits a great sin and when she dies she will go straight to hell, where the demons will at once do all the tattooing with very large knives at a single sitting.[2] Mr. Batchelor was told that the intention of the tattoo marks is to frighten away the demon of disease, and that when an epidemic is raging in a village, all the women should tattoo each other in order to repel the foul fiend. Moreover, when the eyes of old women are growing dim, they should improve their failing sight by tattooing their mouths and hands over again.[3]

Women alone tattooed in some wild tribes of Bengal and Assam.

The custom of tattooing the women but not the men prevails among a number of the wild tribes of Bengal and Assam. Thus, the faces of the Khyen women "are tattooed to a most disfiguring extent, and they have a tradition that the practice was resorted to in order to conceal the natural beauty for which they are so renowned, that their maidens were carried off by the dominant race in lieu of tribute. Figures of animals are sometimes imprinted on their flesh as ornaments."[4] The Juang women tattoo three strokes on the forehead just over the nose and three on each of the temples.[5] Among the Kharrias "the women are all tattooed with the marks on the forehead and temples common to so many of these tribes." The marks consist of three parallel lines on the forehead, and two on each temple.[6] The Birhor women are tattooed on their chest, arms, and ankles, but not on their faces.[7] "The Oraon women

[1] B. Scheube, *Die Ainos*, p. 6. Compare A. S. Bickmore, "Some Notes on the Ainos," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) p. 18; Commander H. C. St. John, "The Ainos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ii. (1873) p. 249; *id.*, *Notes and Sketches from the Wild Coasts of Nipon* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 22; H. von Siebold, *Studien über die Ainos* (Berlin, 1881), p. 15; Lieut. Holland, "The Ainos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. (1874) pp. 237 *sq.*; Rev. J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore* (London, 1901), pp. 20 *sqq.*

[2] Rev. J. Bachelor, *op. cit.* p. 24.

[3] Rev. J. Batchelor, *op. cit.* p. 23.

[4] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 114.

[5] E. T. Dalton *op. cit.* p. 157.

[6] E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 161.

[7] E. T. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 219.

are all tattooed in childhood with the three marks on the brow and two on each temple that distinguish a majority of the Munda females. . . . Girls when adult, or nearly so, have themselves further tattooed on the arms and back."[1] Amongst the wild Naga tribes of Assam the women are commonly tattooed on their legs, sometimes also on their faces, breasts, stomachs, and arms. In some of these tribes the men tattoo themselves little or not at all; in others, however, a man tattoos a mark on his body for every human head which he has taken.[2] Among the Chukchees, in the extreme north-east of Asia, women are commonly tattooed with a vertical line on each side of the nose and with several vertical lines on the chin. Childless women tattoo on both cheeks three equidistant lines running all the way around. This is considered to be a charm against sterility. Chukchee men are not tattooed, except in the Eskimo villages and the nearest Chukchee settlements, where a great many of them have two small marks tattooed on both cheeks near the mouth.[3]

Chuckchee women alone tattooed.

Eskimo women alone tattooed.

Eskimo women are tattooed with lines on their faces, most commonly on their chins but sometimes also on other parts of their bodies such as the neck, breast, shoulders, arms, and legs. Among the Eskimo of Hudson Bay and Point Barrow the operation is performed on a girl at puberty. Among the Eskimo of Point Barrow men are sometimes tattooed as a mark of distinction, for example, to indicate that they have taken whales. The custom of tattooing the women seems to prevail among almost all the Eskimo tribes from Greenland to Bering Strait.[4] In some tribes of Californian Indians, such as the Karok and Patawat, the women tattoo three narrow leaf-shaped marks on their chins;[5] in tribes of the

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 251.

[2] Lieut.-Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, "Notes on the Wild Tribes inhabiting the so-called Naga Hills," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xi. (1882) pp. 201, 204, 206, 207 *sq.*, 209; S. E. Peale, "The Nagas and Neighbouring Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. (1874) p. 477; E. A. Gait, *Census of India, 1891, Assam, Report*, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 243, 245 *sq.*

[3] W. Bogoras, *The Chukchee* (Leyden and New York, 1904-1909), p. 254 (*Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*). Amongst the Koryaks also some women tattoo their faces as a charm against barrenness. See W. Jochelson, *The Koryak* (Leyden and New York, 1908), p. 46 (*The Jesup North Pacific Expedition, Memoir of the American Museum of Natural History*).

[4] D. Crantz, *History of Greenland*, (London, 1767), i. 138; C. F. Hall, *Life with the Esquimaux* (London, 1864), ii. 315; F. Boas, "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1888), p. 561; J. Murduch, "The Point Barrow Eskimo," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), pp. 138-140; L. M. Turner, "The Hudson Bay Eskimo, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), pp. 207 *sq.*; E. W. Nelson, "The Eskimo about Bering Strait," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part i. (Washington, 1899) pp. 50-52.

[5] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 20, 96.

In some Californian tribes the women alone are tattooed.

Coast Range the women often have a rude figure of a tree tattooed on the abdomen and breast.[1] Among the Matooals of California the women tattoo nearly all over their faces, and the men also have a round spot tattooed in the middle of their forehead. Old pioneers in California "hold that the reason why the women alone tattoo in all other tribes is that in case they are taken captives, their own people may be able to recognize them when there comes an opportunity of ransom. There are two facts which give some color of probability to this reasoning. One is that the California Indians are rent into such infinitesimal divisions, any one of which may be arrayed in deadly feud against another at any moment, that the slight differences in their dialects would not suffice to distinguish the captive squaws. A second is that the squaws almost never attempt any ornamental tattooing, but adhere closely to the plain regulation-mark of the tribe." [2]

In some African tribes the women alone are tattooed.

Among the Nilotic tribes of Kavirondo, in British East Africa, the women are tattooed on the chest and stomach with thin curved lines of dots on each side reaching round to near the spine. The men are not tattooed.[3] Similarly among the Wakikuya of Eastern Africa tattooing is confined to the women.[4] The Kimbunda men of West Africa tattoo no part of their bodies, but "the Kimbunda women are wont to tattoo, not those parts of the body which remain uncovered, namely the face and arms, but those parts which nature commands to conceal, especially about the genitals, in the region of the groin and lower part of the stomach, also one or both buttocks, often also one or both shoulder-blades." The operation is usually performed soon after marriage.[5] The Mayombe women of Loango are tattooed, mostly with geometrical figures on both sides of the navel, sometimes up to the breast. But the Mayombe men are not tattooed, though they are often marked with scars caused by cupping or scarification.[6] Amongst the Duallas of Cameroon the bodies of the women are covered with tattooing, whereas the men only tattoo a few lines on their faces; indeed some men are not tattooed at all.[7] Amongst the Amazulus tattooing or rather scarification is sometimes met with, but only on women. The common pattern consists of two squares meeting at their angles. It is incised on one side of the pelvic region, towards

[1] S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, pp. 148, 242.

[2] S. Powers, *op. cit.* p. 109.

[3] H. E. O'Neill, in *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society, 1882*, p. 743; C. W. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda* (London, 1902), p. 31.

[4] J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x. (1878) p. 351.

[5] L. Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 1857* (Buda-Pesth and Leipsic, 1859), pp. 341 *sq.*

[6] P. Güssfeldt, *Die Loango Expedition* (Leipsic, 1879), p. 107.

[7] E. Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, xiii. 69; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x. (1881) pp. 468 *sq.*

the loins; young girls so marked fetch a higher price in the marriage market.[1]

In some tribes the men alone are tattooed.

On the other hand in some tribes it is the men alone who are tattooed. This is true of the Tongans,[2] the Samoans,[3] some tribes of South-Western New Guinea,[4] many Dyak tribes of Borneo,[5] the Khyyoungtha, a hill tribe of Chittagong,[6] and the Dinkas of the Upper Nile.[7] Among the Dinkas the pattern consists of ten lines radiating from the base of the nose and traversing the forehead and temples.[8]

When we observe how often the custom of tattooing women is observed at puberty or marriage, we may surmise that its original intention was not to beautify the body, but to guard against those mysterious dangers which apparently the savage apprehends at that period of life. The practice of tattooing the faces of women as a charm against barrenness[9] points in the same direction. But as to the exact nature of the dangers which the savage associates with puberty, and as to how the various mutilations inflicted on the youth of both sexes are supposed to guard against them, we are still totally in the dark.

P. 30. **Each wears a helmet representing his totem.**—In antiquity the Cimbrian cavalry wore helmets fashioned in the likeness of the heads of animals, with nodding plumes above them, which added to the apparent stature of the big men as they bestrode their horses and charged down in their glittering iron cuirasses, covering their breasts with their white shields, while they plied their long heavy broadswords among the Roman ranks.[10] But there is no evidence that the animals on their helmets represented the totems of these dashing cavaliers. Norsemen sometimes wore on

[1] A. Delegorgue, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe* (Paris, 1847), ii. 228.

[2] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, Second Edition (London, 1860), i. 160 *sq.*

[3] G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 55 *sq.*

[4] G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 250.

[5] C. J. Temminck, *Coup d'œil sur les Possessions Néerlandaises dans l'Inde Archipelagique* (Leyden, 1846-1849), ii. 352, 353; S. Müller, *Reizen en Onderzoekening in den Indischen Archipel* (Amsterdam, 1857), ii. 259; M. T. H. Perelaer, *Ethnographische Beschrijving der Dajaks* (Zalt-Bommel, 1870), pp. 92-94; Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, Second Edition (London, 1863), i. 55. On the other hand in the tribes of Central Borneo both men and women are tattooed. See A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo* (Leyden, 1904-1907), i. 78, 275, 449 *sqq.*, ii. 38; and for a full account of tattooing in Borneo, so far as it is known, see C. Hose and R. Shelford, "Materials for a Study of Tatu in Borneo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxvi. (1906) pp. 60-91, with Plates vi.-xiii.

[6] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India* (London, 1870), pp. 116 *sq.*

[7] G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (London, 1878), i. 50.

[8] G. Schweinfurth, *l.c.*

[9] See above, p. 205, with note [3].

[10] Plutarch, *Marius*, 25.

the top of their helmets a complete figure of a boar as the symbol of the great god Frey.[1]

Men disguised as animals.

P. 31. **The human child is disguised as a wolf to cheat its supernatural foes.**—Among the Central Eskimo, when a man falls ill, the medicine-men will sometimes change his name in order to ward off the disease, or they will consecrate him as a dog to the goddess Sedna. In the latter case the man takes a dog's name and must wear a dog's harness over his inner fur-jacket for the rest of his life.[2] The Bedouins regard the ass, especially the wild ass, as a very robust animal, immune to disease. Hence when he has to enter a plague-stricken town, a Bedouin will sometimes pretend to be an ass, creeping on all fours and braying ten times. After that he believes himself quite safe; the plague will think that he is an ass indeed and that it would be labour in vain to attack him.[3] When one Karok Indian has killed another, "he frequently barks like a coyote in the belief that he will thereby be endued with so much of that animal's cunning that he will be able to elude the punishment due to his crime."[4] Such practices are quite independent of totemism.

P. 32.—**A custom of wrapping infants at birth in a bearskin.**—In the south of Iceland it is believed that if a child is born on a bearskin, he will be healthy and strong and will, like the polar bear, be insensible to cold.[5] The belief rests on the principles of sympathetic magic and has no connection with totemism.

Ceremonial birth from a cow.

P. 32. **He is born again from a cow.**—The curious ceremony described in the text is observed, for the reasons mentioned, in the Himalayan districts of the North-West Provinces of India.[6] Sometimes the ceremony is softened by merely placing the unlucky infant in a basket before a good milch cow with a calf and allowing the calf to lick the child, "by which operation the noxious qualities which the child has derived from its birth are removed."[7] Again, a person who has lost caste may be reinstated in it by passing several times under a cow's belly, which is probably a symbol of

[1] P. Hermann, *Nordische Mythologie* (Leipsic, 1903), p. 207.

[2] F. Boas, "Die Sagen der Baffinland Eskimos," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte, 1885*, p. (164) (appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xvii.); *id.* "The Central Eskimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1888), p. 612.

[3] J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, Zweite Ausgabe (Berlin, 1897), pp. 162 *sq.*

[4] S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), p. 37.

[5] M. Bartels, "Isländischer Brauch und Volksglaube in Bezug auf die Nachkommenschaft," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxxii. (1900) p. 67.

[6] E. T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Districts of the North-West Provinces of India*, ii. (Allahabad, 1884) p. 914.

[7] Alexander Mackintosh, *Account of the Origin and Present Condition of the Tribe of Ramoosies* (Bombay, 1833), p. 124.

being born again from it.[1] The passage through a metal image of a cow in imitation of birth from the animal is resorted to in India either in order to restore a person to a caste which he has forfeited by misconduct or to raise him to a higher caste than the one to which by his natural birth he belongs. When the two Brahmans whom Ragoba sent to England returned to India, it was decided that they must have defiled themselves by contact with the gentiles and that in order to cleanse them thoroughly from the taint they had contracted it was necessary that they should be born again. For the purpose of the new birth it is laid down that an image of a woman or of a cow shall be made of pure gold, and that the sinner shall be passed through the usual channel in order to emerge from it, like a new-born babe, in a state of innocence. But as a statue of pure gold and of the proper size would be exceedingly expensive, it is enough to make an image of the sacred *yoni* in gold and to let the offender creep through it. This was done; the two Brahmans solemnly crawled through the aperture, and so were happily restored to the communion of the faithful.[2] "It is on record that the Tanjore Nayakar, having betrayed Madura and suffered for it, was told by his Brahman advisers that he had better be born again. So a colossal cow was cast in bronze, and the Nayakar shut up inside. The wife of his Brahman *guru* acted as nurse, received him in her arms, rocked him on her knees, and caressed him on her breast, and he tried to cry like a baby."[3] Again, the Maharajah of Travancore is by birth a Sudra, but he can and does overcome this natural defect by being born again as a Brahman from a golden cow or a golden water-lily. The golden vessel, whether in the shape of a cow or of a water-lily, is half filled with water and the five products of a cow, to wit, milk, curd, butter, urine, and dung. The prince enters the vessel, the lid is clapped down on him, he ducks five times in the precious compound, and remains for about ten minutes absorbed in holy meditation, while the Brahmans chant prayers and hymns. Then he comes forth dripping, a new, a regenerate man to prostrate himself at the feet of the idol and to receive on his head the magnificent crown of Travancore. He has now been born again like the Brahmans; it is therefore his high privilege to be present when these holy men are eating their dinners and to share in their repast. But the members of his family may no longer eat with him; he has risen far above them by the rite of the new birth.[4] Amongst the Ovambo

This pretence of new birth from a cow is intended to restore a person to a caste which he has forfeited or to raise him to a higher caste.

[1] J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde* (Paris, 1825), i. 42.

[2] Captain F. Wilford, "On Mount Caucasus," *Asiatic Researches*, vi. (London, 1801) pp. 537 *sq.* (8vo edition).

[3] E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), pp. 271 *sq.*

[4] Rev. S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity* (London, 1871), pp. 169, 172; *North-Indian Notes and Queries*, iii. p. 215, § 465.

of South-West Africa a remedy for sickness consists in killing and flaying a cow, piercing the flanks in the region of the heart, and helping the patient to squeeze his way through the reeking carcase.[1] But it does not appear whether this bloody passage is regarded as a new birth.

P. 32. **Marriage ceremonies.**—There is no evidence or probability that any of the marriage ceremonies described in the text are in any way related to totemism. Some of them may possibly be intended to fertilise the young couple.[2] This may have been the intention of the ancient Hindoo ceremony of seating bride and bridegroom at marriage on a red bull's hide.[3] There is no reason to connect such a ceremony with totemism. However, "the Vaydas of Cutch worship the monkey god whom they consider to be their ancestor, and to please him in their marriage ceremony, the bridegroom goes to the bride's house dressed up as a monkey and there leaps about in monkey fashion."[4] And amongst the Bhils the totems are worshipped especially at marriage.[5]

P. 32. **An Italian bride smeared the doorposts of her new home with wolf's fat.**—In Algeria a bride smears the doorposts of her new home with butter.[6]

The custom of marrying persons to trees is often resorted to in India for the purpose of averting some threatened danger.

P. 32. **Marrying the bride and bridegroom to trees before they are married to each other.**—There is no ground for connecting this custom with totemism. Much more probable is the view suggested by Mr. W. Crooke that the custom "is based on the desire to bring the wedded pair into intimate connexion with the reproductive powers of nature";[7] in other words, that the ceremony is a rite of fertilisation intended to ensure the birth of children. Yet there are numerous facts which tend to shew that in India the custom of marrying persons to trees is intended to avert evil consequences from the bride or bridegroom. Many examples of such customs have been collected by Mr. Crooke.[8] Thus in the Punjab a Hindoo cannot be legally married a third time; but there is,

[1] (*South African*) *Folk-Lore Journal*, ii. (1880) p. 73. Compare E. Casalis, *The Basutos* (London, 1861), p. 256: "Certain tribes, after having slaughtered the victim, pierce it through and through, and cause the person who is to be purified to pass between the pieces."

[2] As to such fertilisation ceremonies see above, vol. ii. pp. 256-263; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity* (London, 1909), i. 30 *sqq.*

[3] *The Grihya-Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, Part i. p. 383, Part ii. pp. 193 *sq.* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxix. and xxx.).

[4] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 154.

[5] See below, pp. 292 *sqq.*

[6] Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algerie* (Algiers, 1888), p. 105.

[7] W. Crooke, "The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899) p. 242. Compare *id.*, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 121.

[8] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 115 *sqq.*

curiously enough, no objection whatever to his being married a fourth time. Hence if he wishes to take to himself a third wife, he circumvents the law by being first married to a Babul tree (*Acacia Arabica*) or to the Akh plant (*Asclepia gigantea*), so that the woman whom he afterwards marries is counted his fourth wife and the evil consequences of marrying for a third time are avoided.[1] Sometimes the vegetable bride to which the gay widower is thus married for the purpose of evading the law is supposed to die soon after the marriage; which clearly shews the risk which a human bride would have run by wedding the ill-omened bridegroom.[2] Again, in Oudh it is deemed very unlucky to marry a couple if the ruling stars of the young man form a more powerful combination than those of the young woman; but the difficulty can be avoided by marrying the girl first to a peepul tree (*Ficus religiosa*).[3] In the Himalayas when the conjunction of the planets portends misfortune at a marriage, or when on account of some bodily or mental defect nobody is willing to marry him or her, the luckless or unattractive boy or girl is first wedded to an earthen pot, the marriage-knot being tied in the literal sense by a string which unites the neck of the bridegroom or bride to the neck of the pot; while the dedicatory formula sets forth that the ceremony is undertaken in order to counteract the malign influence of the adverse planets or of the bodily or mental blemish of the husband or wife.[4] Here the custom of marrying an unlucky person to a pot is clearly equivalent to the custom of marrying him or her to a peepul tree; the one and the other are plainly intended to divert the threatened misfortune from a human being to an inanimate object, whether a tree or a pot. Similarly, in some parts of the Punjab if a man has lost two or three wives in succession he marries a bird before he marries another human wife,[5] obviously with the intention of breaking his run of bad luck. In Madras men are often married to plantain trees for the following reason. Among orthodox Hindoos a younger brother may not marry before an elder brother. But it may be that the elder brother is deaf, dumb, blind, a cripple, or otherwise so maimed that nobody will give him his daughter to wife. How then can the younger brother marry? The difficulty is overcome by marrying the blind, lame, deaf, or otherwise defective elder brother to a plantain tree with all the usual

[1] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 115; *Panjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 42, § 252; (Sir) D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), p. 155.

[2] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 116.

[3] W. Crooke, *l.c.*

[4] E. T. Atkinson, *The Himalayan Districts of the North-Western Provinces of India*, ii. (Allahabad, 1884) p. 913; W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 117.

[5] *North Indian Notes and Queries*, i. p. 15, § 110; W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 119.

Custom of marrying people to trees in India.

formalities of a wedding. Then the Brahman priest fells the plantain tree and the whole family is plunged into mourning for the vegetable bride thus cut off in her prime. So the elder brother is now a widower and his younger brother is free to wed.[1] Once more, amongst the Gadariyas, a shepherd caste of the North-West Provinces of India, if a girl has a curl of hair which resembles a female snake, she is first married to a camel-thorn bush, apparently in order that her serpent-nature may discharge its venom on the bush rather than on her bridegroom. And if a bachelor marries a widow and she bears him a daughter, before he gives away his daughter in marriage, he goes through a form of marriage with a tree for the sake of annulling the evil influence which is supposed to emanate from the marriage of a bachelor with a widow.[2] The intention of all such ceremonies, as Mr. Crooke has pointed out,[3] seems to be to avert some threatened evil from the bride or bridegroom or from both and to transfer it to a plant, an animal, or a thing. Thus the customs in question fall under the head of those widespread transferences of evil of which the custom of the scapegoat is the most familiar example.[4] Yet Mr. Crooke may very well be right in thinking that the custom, practised by some of the wild hill-tribes of India, of making bride and bridegroom clasp a tree or tying them to it before marriage, springs from an entirely different order of ideas and is, in short, a fertilisation ceremony.[5] In any case, as I have said, it seems to have nothing to do with totemism.

P. 34. **Dancing girls of Goa are married to daggers, etc.**—The Uriyas of Ganjam have to marry their daughters before the period of puberty, and if a suitable husband is not to be found, they will fulfil their obligation by marrying the girl to an arrow.[6] Sometimes a bachelor who wishes to marry a widow is first wedded to a ring or a pitcher instead of to a plant.[7]

P. 34, note [6]. **The old Egyptian custom . . . of dressing a woman as a bride, etc.**—In the canal of Cairo it used to be customary to erect every year a round pillar of earth called "the bride" (*'arooseh*), which was regularly swept away by the rising waters of the Nile. "It is believed that the custom of forming this *'arooseh* originated from an ancient superstitious usage which is mentioned by Arab authors, and among them by El-Makreezee.

[1] *Indian Notes and Queries*, iv. p. 105, § 396.

[2] W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, ii. 363.

[3] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 120.

[4] See *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 1 *sqq*.

[5] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 120, 121.

[6] "Notes on Marriage Customs in the Madras Presidency," *The Indian Antiquary*, xxv. (1896) p. 145.

[7] *Panjab Notes and Queries*, iii. p. 4, § 12.

This historian relates that in the year of the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, 'Amr Ibn-El-'A's, the Arab general, was told that the Egyptians were accustomed at the period when the Nile began to rise to deck a young virgin in gay apparel, and throw her into the river as a sacrifice, to obtain a plentiful inundation. This barbarous custom, it is said, he abolished." [1]

P. 34, note [6]. **Legends like those of Andromeda and Hesione.**—Examples of such tales might easily be multiplied. Their essence is the marriage of a woman to a water-spirit, and the tales probably reflect a real custom of sacrificing a woman to a water-spirit to be his bride.[2]

P. 35. **Egyptian queens were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophaguses.**—This was probably done to place the dead queens under the protection of Isis, or perhaps rather to identify them with the goddess, who was herself sometimes represented by the image of a cow and in art regularly appears wearing horns on her head.[3] Some of the Solomon Islanders, who worship sharks, deposit the dead bodies of chiefs and the skulls of ordinary men in wooden images of sharks, which stand in their temples or *tambu*-houses.[4]

Custom of burying the dead with their heads to certain points of the compass.

P. 35. **Men of the Sun totem are buried with their heads towards the sunrise.**—Similarly among the Battas of Sumatra men of different totems are buried with their heads in different directions,[5] but the reasons for these differences are not always manifest. On the analogy of the Hot-Wind totem and the Sun totem among the Wotjoballuk we may conjecture that the direction in which the body was buried was the direction in which the totem was supposed especially to reside, so that the intention of interring the bodies in these positions may have been to enable the released spirits of the dead to rejoin their totems. It might be worth while to collect similar rules of burial among other peoples. In antiquity the Athenians buried their dead with the heads to the west, while the Megarians buried theirs with the heads to the east.[6] In Korat, a province of French Tonquin, persons who die a natural death are buried in the sun's course with their heads to the west; but persons who

[1] E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (Paisley, n.d.), ch. xxvi. p. 500.

[2] See my note on Pausanias, ix. 26. 7 (vol. v. pp. 143-145); and my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (London, 1905), pp. 179 *sqq.*

[3] See my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 300, 319.

[4] H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands and their Natives* (London, 1887), pp. 53, 70 *sq.*

[5] See above, vol. ii. p. 190.

[6] Plutarch, *Solon*, 10, θάπτουσι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἕω τοὺς νεκροὺς στρέφοντες, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν. The expression is ambiguous, but I understand it in the sense I have indicated. According to Aelian (*Var. Hist.* vii. 19), the Athenians buried their dead turned towards the west, but the Megarians followed no rule in the matter.

Burial customs determined by a belief in a land of the dead far away in the west, where the sun goes down.

perish by violence and women who die in childbed are buried athwart the sun's course with their heads to the north.[1] Such customs naturally furnish no indication of totemism; more probably they depend on the ideas which each people has formed of the direction in which lies the land of the dead, some races associating it with the rising and others with the setting sun. More commonly, it would seem, the souls are thought to descend with the great luminary as he sinks in a blaze of glory in the fiery west. Thus some aborigines of Victoria thought that the spirits of the dead go towards the setting sun.[2] The Woiworung or Wurunjerri tribe of Victoria believed that the world of the dead, which they called *ngamat*, lay beyond the western edge of the earth, and that the bright hues of sunset were caused by the souls of the dead going out and in or ascending up the golden pathway to heaven.[3] Some aborigines of New South Wales in burying their dead took great care to lay the body in the grave in such a position that the sun might look on it as he passed; they even cut down for that purpose every shrub that could obstruct the view.[4] Among the Battas of Sumatra a burial regularly takes place at noon. The coffin is set crosswise over the open grave, the assembled people crouch down, and a solemn silence ensues. Then the lid of the coffin is lifted off, and the son or other chief mourner, raising his hand, addresses the dead man as follows: "Now father, you see the sun for the last time; you will see it no more"; or "Look your last upon the sun; you will never see it again. Sleep sound."[5] Perhaps the original intention of this ceremony was to enable the spirit of the dead to follow the westering sun to his place of rest. We are told that some of the Calchaqui Indians of Argentina opened the eyes of their dead that they might see the way to the other world.[6] For a similar reason, perhaps, some of the savages of Tonquin open the eyes of the dead for a few

[1] É. Aymonier, *Voyage dans le Laos*, ii. (Paris, 1897) p. 327. In his earlier work, *Notes sur le Laos* (Paris, 1885), p. 268, the writer reverses the statement as to the position of the bodies. But his later and rather more detailed statement is to be preferred.

[2] W. Stanbridge, "Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, i. (1861) p. 299.

[3] A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 187, xvi. (1887) p. 41; *id.*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 438.

[4] Lieut.-Colonel Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1804), p. 390; G. Barrington, *The History of New South Wales* (London, 1802), p. 27.

[5] F. Junghuhn, *Die Bataländer auf Sumatra* (Berlin, 1847), ii. 141; W. A. Henny, "Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Bataklanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xvii. (1868) pp. 29 *sq.*; Joachim Freiherr von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras* (Würzburg, 1894), pp. 235 *sq.*

[6] Pedro de Angelis, *Coleccion de Obras y Documentos relativos a la Historia antigua y moderna de las Provincias del Rio de la Plata*, ii. (Buenos-Ayres, 1836) p. 30.

moments before they shut the lid of the coffin down on him, "in order that he may see the sky."[1] The natives of Mangaia in the Pacific believe that the souls of the dead congregate on a bluff which faces towards the setting sun. Thence, as the day wears to evening, the mournful procession passes over a row of rocks or stepping stones to the outer edge of the reef, where the surf breaks eternally. Then, as the glowing orb sinks into the sea, they flit down

The line of light that plays
Along the smooth wave toward the burning west,

to sink with the sun into the nether world, but not like him to return again.[2] The Karok Indians of California believe that for the blessed dead there is a Happy Western Land beyond the great water, and the path which leads to it they call the Path of the Roses.[3]

P. 36. **Ceremonies at Puberty.**—The statements in the text as to the relation of totemism to scars and other mutilations of the person must be corrected by what I have said above.[4] Nor is it true, as I now believe, to say that "the fundamental rules of totem society are rules regulating marriage"; for this assumes that exogamy is an integral part of totemism, whereas the evidence tends to shew that the two institutions were in their origin quite distinct, although in most totemic peoples they have been accidentally united.[5] I have already pointed out that, so long as we are ignorant of the views which savages take of the nature of puberty, we cannot expect to understand the meaning of the rites with which they celebrate the attainment by both sexes of the power of reproducing the species.[6] Hence I now attach little weight to the speculations on this subject in the text.

P. 38. **Kasia maidens dance at the new moon in March.**— According to other accounts this annual dance of the Kasias or Khasis takes place in the late spring, generally in May. The girls, richly clad in party-coloured silks, wearing crowns of gold or silver on their heads, their persons blazing with jewelry, dance demurely in a circle with mincing steps and downcast eyes. In the middle of the circle squat the musicians eliciting a loud barbaric music from droning bagpipes, clashing cymbals, and thunderous drums, and drawing fresh and fresh inspiration from an enormous punch-bowl of rice-beer which stands beside them. Outside the decorous circle

Dances of Kasia maids and bachelors.

[1] Pinabel, "Notes sur quelques peuplades sauvages dépendant du Tong-King," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), VII^me^ Série, v. (1884) p. 429.

[2] Rev. W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific* (London, 1876), pp. 155-159.

[3] S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), p. 34.

[4] See above, pp. 198 *sqq.*

[5] See above, pp. 8 *sqq.*

[6] See above, pp. 194, 202, 207, also vol. iii. p. 453.

Dances at puberty.

of the maidens goes whirling round and round the giddy circle of the bachelors, rigged out in old uniforms, frock-coats, ladies' jackets, plumes, necklaces and tea-cosies, jigging, hopping, leaping, whooping themselves hoarse, brandishing knives, fly-flappers, and blue cotton umbrellas in wild confusion. Higher and higher rises the music, faster and more furious grows the dance, till the punch-bowl producing its natural consequences the musicians drop off one after the other to sleep, and the war-whoops of the dancers subside into doleful grunts and groans. Many matches are made at these annual Khasi balls.[1] Among the Barotse on the Zambesi girls on reaching puberty dance for weeks together, always about midnight, to the accompaniment of songs and castanets.[2] Among the Suzees and Mandingoes of Sierra-Leone girls are circumcised at puberty. Every year during the dry season, on the first appearance of a new moon, the damsels of each town who are to be circumcised are taken into a wood and kept there in strict seclusion for a moon and a day, charms being placed on every path to prevent intrusion. There the operation is performed by an old woman. Afterwards the girls go round the town in procession and dance and sing before every principal person's house till they receive a present. When [illegible]nd of dances is completed, the young women are given in [illegible]ge to their betrothed husbands.[3]

Hunters disguised in skins of animals.

P. 40. **The savage disguises himself in the animal's skin, etc.**— The Bushmen of South Africa were adepts in the art of stalking game in such disguises. We read that "when taking the field against the elephant, the hippopotamus, or rhinoceros, they appeared with the head and hide of a hartebeest over their shoulders, and whilst advancing towards their quarry through the long grass, would carefully mimic all the actions of the animal they wished to represent. They appeared again in the spoils of the blesbok, with the head and wings of a vulture, the striped hide of the zebra, or they might be seen stalking in the guise of an ostrich."[4] In the last of these disguises they wear light frames covered with ostrich feathers and carry the head and neck of an ostrich supported on a stick.[5] Similarly the Mambowe of South Africa stalk game "by using the stratagem of a cap made of the skin of a leche's or poku's head,

[1] Lieut. E. H. Steel, "On the Khasia Tribes," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, vii. (1869) p. 309; Mrs. J. C. Murray-Aynsley, "Some Account of the Secular and Religious Dances of Certain Primitive Peoples in Asia and Africa," *The Folk-Lore Journal*, v. (1887) pp. 273-276; Major P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis* (London, 1907), pp. 154-156.

[2] E. Holub, *Sieben Jahre in Süd-Afrika* (Vienna, 1881), ii. 258.

[3] John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra-Leone* (London, 1791), pp. 70-73.

[4] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of South Africa* (London, 1905), p. 82.

[5] Sir James Edward Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa* (London, 1838), ii. 145-147.

having the horns still attached, and another made so as to represent the upper white part of the crane called jabiru (*Micteru Senegalensis*), with its long neck and beak above. With these on, they crawl through the grass; they can easily put up their heads so far as to see their prey without being recognised until they are within bowshot."[1] The Somalis disguise themselves as ostriches in order to shoot or to catch and tame the bird.[2] Some American Indians used to disguise themselves as deer or wild turkeys in order to kill these creatures.[3] The Eskimo clothe themselves in seal skins and snort like seals till they come within striking distance of the animals;[4] and in order to kill deer they muffle themselves in deer-skin coats and hoods and mimic the bellow of the deer when they call to each other.[5]

Foods prohibited to youths at initiation.

P. 40. **It is at initiation that the youth is solemnly forbidden to eat of certain foods.**—Amongst the Australian tribes such prohibitions are very common,[6] but they seem to be independent of totemism. Many of them come into operation before initiation and are not relaxed till long after it, sometimes not until the man or woman is well advanced in years. The penalties, real or imaginary, incurred by infringement of the rules are not ci[redacted] natural, being supposed to flow inevitably from the act itself with-out human intervention. Amongst them are accidents and ill-success in the chase, but for the most part they consist of certain bodily ailments or infirmities which appear to be purely fanciful. As a rule it is only the old men who are free to eat anything. For example, in some tribes of New South Wales youths at initiation were forbidden to eat eggs, fish, or any of the finer sorts of opossum or kangaroo. Their fare was therefore very poor, but as they grew older these restrictions were removed, and after passing middle age they might eat anything.[7] Again, among the natives of the Mary River and the *bunya-bunya* country in Queensland "there was hardly any animal, from a human being to a giant fly, that was not considered wholesome and lawful food to the elder men of the tribe. To minors, certain animals were proscribed as *mundha*. In the bunya season of 1875-76, bunyas were *mundha* to the females. The food prohibited to minors is porcupine, snakes, eels, fresh-water fish,

[1] D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London, 1857), p. 490.

[2] Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die materielle Cultur der Danâkil, Galla und Somâl* (Berlin, 1893), p. 229.

[3] Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes Occidentales* (Paris, 1768), ii. 52 *sq.*; Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels* (London, 1813), ii. 197.

[4] H. Egede, *A Description of Greenland*, Second Edition (London, 1818), p. 106.

[5] Captain G. F. Lyon, *Private Journal* (London, 1824), p. 336.

[6] See above, pp. 176 *sqq.*

[7] Ch. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, New Edition, ii. (New York, 1851), p. 194.

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kangaroo injured in the chase, the eggs of the emu and scrub turkey, and the flying fox. Indulgence in forbidden foods is supposed to be punished with sickness and cancerous sores."[1] It has been suggested that these prohibitions have been laid upon the young by the old either for the purpose of reserving the best of the food for themselves, or in order to prevent the extinction of certain species of edible animals.[2]

Such prohibitions of food may be based on superstition rather than on selfishness.

But it may be questioned whether these explanations are sufficient. In regard to the latter of the two motives suggested it seems very unlikely that improvident savages such as the Australians, who never store up food for future use, should be so far-seeing as to guard against the extinction of the animals on which they subsist. And with regard to the theory that these numerous taboos have been imposed by the older people on their juniors from purely selfish motives, and have been upheld by superstitious terrors which the seniors artfully impressed on the minds of their dupes, it may well be doubted whether the Australian aborigines are capable of conceiving or executing so elaborate a system of fraud. I prefer to suppose that the prohibitions in question are really based on mistaken beliefs as to the ill-effect of certain foods in certain circumstances, especially at particular times of life and above all at puberty. If we understood the conception which the savage has formed of the nature of puberty, we might also understand why on the one hand he forbids some foods to young people at this critical period, and why on the other hand he permits food of any kind to be eaten by old people, that is, by persons who have lost the power of reproducing their species. For it is probably that mysterious power which the savage is mainly concerned to guard and fence about by these rules of diet. In short, it seems likely that the prohibition of certain foods to young people is often founded rather on superstition than on selfishness.

Superstitious abstinences from

Certainly in their diet the Australian aborigines practise many abstinences which appear to be purely superstitious and which can hardly be explained by a theory that the practitioners have been

[1] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 159. Compare R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 234: "The old men are privileged to eat every kind of food that it is lawful for any of their tribe to eat." A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 456: "In some of the tribes, *e.g.*, the Wolgal, these food rules only become relaxed gradually, so that it is the old man only who is free to use every kind of animal food."

[2] Rev. G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 16; R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 234 (quoted above, p. 177), 238; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 471, "The idea throughout is evidently that which obtains so largely in savage tribes of reserving the best things for the use of the elders, and, more especially, of the elder men"; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 611, 612, 613.

beguiled or bullied into them by designing persons who profit by the simplicity of their dupes. Thus, for example, among the tribes about the Nogoa River in Southern Queensland "certain restrictions respecting the use of food exist. Old people, for instance, are the only persons allowed to eat the flesh of the emu. Other articles of food are forbidden to a man whose brother has recently died, but this custom does not extend to sisters. A father, on the death of a child, male or female, abstains from eating iguanas, opossums, and snakes, of the male sex, but nothing of the kind occurs on the death of a wife. This prohibition of animals of a particular sex is widely prevalent in Australia."[1] Similarly among the natives of the Mary River district in Southern Queensland the flesh of certain animals was forbidden to persons in mourning.[2] Again, in some Australian tribes menstruous women might not partake of certain foods; and in this case the prohibition, like other taboos laid on women at such times, seems to have been purely superstitious. Thus among the natives of the Murray River menstruous women had to refrain not merely from eating fish but from going near a river or crossing it in a canoe, because it was believed that if they did any of these things they would frighten the fish.[3] The Arunta suppose that if a woman at one of her monthly periods were to gather certain bulbs, which form a staple article of diet for both men and women, the supply of the bulb would fail.[4]

certain foods among the Australian aborigines.

Menstruous women forbidden to eat certain foods.

With these examples before us, which might doubtless be easily added to, we need not doubt that the old Australian aborigines themselves implicitly believe in many of the absurd reasons which are alleged for debarring young people from certain viands. Thus in the Encounter Bay tribe old men appropriated to themselves the roes of fishes, and it was said and believed that if women, young men, or children ate of that dainty they would grow prematurely old.[5] The natives about King George's Sound in South-West Australia "have some superstitious notions in regard to peculiar food for different ages and sexes. Thus girls, after eleven or twelve years of age, seldom eat bandicoot, such foods being considered a preventive to breeding; young men will not eat *nailots* or *warlits* (black eagle), or they will not have a fine beard; such food will also influence their success in the chace; and although kangaroos may abound, they will seldom see them, and always miss them when they attempt to spear them. I believe that it is not until the age of thirty that they may eat indiscriminately."[6] The Kulin of the

Australian superstitions as to food.

[1] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 91.

[2] E. M. Curr, *op. cit.* iii. 159.

[3] R. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 236.

[4] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 473; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 615.

[5] H. E. Meyer, "Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 187.

[6] Scott Nind, "Description of the

Australian superstitions as to food.

Goulburn River, in South-Eastern Australia, "believed that if the novice ate the spiny ant-eater or the black duck, he would be killed by the thunder. If he ate of the female of the opossum or native bear, he was liable to fall when climbing trees, and so on for other offences."[1] In the tribe which occupied the Main Dividing Range between the Cape and Belyando Rivers "the young men and women are forbidden to eat certain sorts of food, such as the emu, swan, scrub and plain turkeys, and the eggs of these birds. The eel, the black-headed snake, and other animals are also on the schedule of forbidden foods. The reason assigned by the old folks for these restrictions is, that the richness of these foods would kill the young, and so persuaded are the young of the truth of this assertion, that Mr. MacGlashan is convinced they would rather die of hunger than infringe their law. They call this law *knagana*, which means 'forbidden.'"[2] In the Arunta tribe an uncircumcised boy is forbidden to eat many animals or parts of animals, particularly kangaroo tail, the wild turkey and its eggs, the female bandicoot, large lizards, emu fat, all kinds of parrots and cockatoos, the large quail and its eggs, the eagle-hawk, the wild cat, the podargus and its eggs; and various penalties, such as premature age and decay and bleeding to death at circumcision, are denounced against him for infractions of the rules. Some of these imaginary pains consist of various bodily deformities, such as a large mouth and a hole in the chin, which may on the principle of sympathetic magic be suggested by similar peculiarities in the tabooed animals.[3] Again, in the interval between circumcision and subincision, and indeed until the wound caused by the second of these operations has completely healed, a young Arunta man must abstain from eating snakes, opossums, bandicoots, echidna, lizards, mound birds and their eggs, wild turkeys and their eggs, eagle-hawks and their eggs. Any infraction of these rules is thought to retard his recovery and inflame his wounds.[4] Similarly Arunta girls and young women until they have borne a child, or until their breasts begin to be pendent, are forbidden to eat female bandicoot, large lizards, the large quail and its eggs, the wild cat, kangaroo tail, emu fat, cockatoos and parrots of all kinds, echidna, and the brown hawk (*Hieracidea orientalis*). The penalties supposed to be incurred by breaches of the rules resemble those which overtake the men, except that some of the ailments and infirmities are peculiar to women, such as absence of milk from the breasts. Women

Natives of King George's Sound (Swan River) and Adjoining Country," *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, i. (1832) p. 37.

[1] A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) pp. 41 *sq.*

[2] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 20.

[3] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 471 *sq.*

[4] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 470.

believe that if they ate old brown hawks their sons would be afflicted with varicose veins on the forehead. Further, a woman may not eat opossum, large carpet snake, large lizard, nor fat of any sort during the time that elapses between the circumcision and the subincision of her son; for were she to partake of any of these foods, the Arunta think that it would retard her son's recovery.[1] These last prohibitions clearly rest on an imaginary bond of magic sympathy between the mother and her son. In the Kaitish tribe young men may not eat emu, snake, porcupine, wild cat, eagle-hawk, or large lizards; if they do, it is believed that their bodies will swell up and their hair will turn prematurely grey. The restrictions laid on young women are still more numerous. Among the foods forbidden to them are acacia seed, emu eggs, the wild turkey and its eggs, the wild dog, big snakes, echidna, big lizards, wild cat, eagle-hawk, kites, big rats, rabbit bandicoots, and fish. Infractions of these taboos are supposed to entail various bodily infirmities, such as sore throat, swollen cheeks, swollen head, swollen body, emaciation, sores on the head, and sores on the legs. The restrictions with regard to the food of women are said to be much the same through all of the Central tribes; everywhere apparently the women strictly abstain from eating the brown hawk, lest they should have no milk in their breasts; some people think that the eating of the brown hawk causes the breasts to wither up, others on the contrary affirm that it makes them swell up and burst. Very old women among the Kaitish are freed from these restrictions.[2] In the Warramunga tribe young men are gradually released from these taboos as they grow older, but a man is usually well on in middle age before he may eat such things as wild turkey, rabbit bandicoot, and emu. In the same tribe there is a general rule that nobody may eat eagle-hawks, because it is said these birds batten on the bodies of dead natives.[3] In the Binbinga tribe the newly initiated boy may not eat snake, female kangaroo, wallaby, female emu, turtle, big lizards, big fish, female bandicoot, native companion, *jabiru*, black duck, dingo, turkey and its eggs, pigeon, and yams. All of these things are tabooed to him till his whiskers are grown. Finally, he takes a snake and other offerings of food to an old man, his wife's father, who first puts the snake round his own neck and then touches the lad's mouth with it. After that the young man may eat snakes.[4]

Australian superstitions as to food.

The view that the extensive prohibitions of food enjoined on young people of both sexes in Australia are in the main dictated by superstition rather than by the calculating selfishness of their

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 472 *sq.*

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 611 *sq.*

[3] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 612.

[4] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 613.

Superstitious abstinences from certain foods.

elders, may perhaps be confirmed by the observation that in other parts of the world it is precisely the young people and women who are most free, and the grown men the most restricted, in their diet. For example, in some Dyak tribes of Borneo women, boys, and sometimes old men are free to eat certain foods which are forbidden, from motives of superstition, to men in the prime of life.[1] Among the Dyaks of Melintam and Njawan women and children may eat the flesh of apes, deer, and crocodiles, but from the time that boys are circumcised they may no longer partake of these viands. It used to be thought that any man who ate of these animals would go mad.[2] Among the Melanesians of the Duke of York Group and the adjoining parts of New Britain and New Ireland "a singular custom prevails here with regard to the sons of many chiefs. About the time of their attaining the age of puberty they are taken into the bush, where a large house is built for them and their attendants. Here they remain for several months, and during this time they are well fed with pork, turtle, shark, and anything else they please. They are then initiated into certain ceremonies, and after this they never again taste either pork, turtle, or shark during the remainder of their lives. So scrupulous are they on this matter, that I have known a young man to suffer acutely from hunger rather than eat a piece of taro which had been cooked in the same oven with a piece of pork."[3] Amongst the Namaquas boys under puberty are free to partake of hares, but after they have attained to puberty and have been initiated, they are forbidden to eat hare's flesh or even to come into contact with a fire at which it has been cooked. A man who eats the forbidden food is not uncommonly banished from the village, though he may be admitted to it again on the payment of a fine. The reason which the Namaquas give for this custom is that the animal is the origin of death among men. For once on a time, the hare was charged by the moon to run to mankind and tell them, "As I die and am renewed, so shall you also be renewed." The hare ran as he was bid, but instead of saying, "As I die and am renewed," he perversely and of malice prepense said, "As I die and perish, so shall you." So old Namaquas say that they hate the hare for his evil tidings and will not eat his flesh.[4] Amongst the Baele of Ennedi, a district of the eastern Soudan, after boys have been

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 203-205.

[2] J. M. van Barckel, "Iets over de Dajaks van Melintam en Njawan," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1881) pp. 431 *sq.*

[3] Rev. G. Brown, "Notes on the Duke of York Group, New Britain, and New Ireland," *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, xlvii. (1877) p. 148.

[4] Sir James Edward Alexander, *Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa* (London, 1838), i. 169; C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, Second Edition (London, 1856), pp. 328 *sq.*

circumcised they may no longer eat fowls and other birds, fish, and eggs. In neighbouring districts of the Soudan these foods are similarly deemed unsuitable for grown men. But the women of Ennedi are free to partake of these viands.[1]

P. 41. **The Kurnai youth is not allowed to eat the female of any animal, etc.**—The Kurnai rules have since been stated by Dr. A. W. Howitt more fully. He says:—"The rules as to food animals are as follows: The novice may not eat the female of any animal, nor the emu, the porcupine, the conger-eel, nor the spiny ant-eater; but he may eat the males of the common opossum, the ringtail opossum, the rock wallaby, the small scrub wallaby, the bush-rat, the bandicoot, the rabbit-rat, the brushtail, and the flying-mouse. He becomes free of the flesh of the forbidden animals by degrees. This freedom is given him by one of the old men suddenly and unexpectedly smearing some of the cooked fat over his face."[2]

Superstitious abstinence from salt.

P. 42, note [3]. **Superstitious abstinence from salt.**—The custom of abstaining from salt on certain solemn occasions has been practised by many peoples, but there seems to be no reason for connecting it with totemism. One of the occasions on which the abstinence has been commonly practised is mourning for a death. Thus, according to the rules of ancient Hindoo ritual, mourners should eat no food containing salt for three nights.[3] The Juangs, a wild hill-tribe of Bengal, abstain from salt and flesh for three days when they are in mourning.[4] In Loango the widow of a dead prince is bound to sleep on the ground and to eat no salted food.[5] Mourners in Central Africa sometimes refrain from salt, warm food, and beer.[6] In the Karnal District of North-West India worshippers of the Sun God (*Suraj Devata*) eat no salt on his sacred day Sunday.[7] One of the sacred books of the Hindoos prescribes that no salt should be eaten on the tenth day of the moon.[8] In the month of Saon (July-August) crowds of women in Bihar call themselves the wives of the snake-god Nag and go out begging for two and a half days, during which they neither sleep under a roof nor eat salt.[9] Barren women among the Aroras in India sometimes

[1] G. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, ii. 178 *sq.*

[2] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 633.

[3] Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India* (London, 1883), p. 283.

[4] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 158.

[5] A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 167.

[6] Rev. Duff Macdonald, *Africana* (London, 1882), i. 110. The writer does not name the tribes who observe this custom.

[7] (Sir) D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Report on the Revision of Settlement of the Panipat Tahsil and Karnal Parganah of the Karnal District* (Allahabad, 1883), p. 147.

[8] J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, ii. 525. The book in which this rule is laid down is the *Vishnu-Purana*.

[9] G. A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* (Calcutta, 1885), pp. 404 *sq.*

abstain from salt during the four rainy months,[1] apparently in the hope of thereby obtaining offspring. The Mohaves, an Indian tribe of North America, never ate salted meat for the next moon after the coming of a prisoner among them.[2] A Brazilian Indian, one of Mr. A. R. Wallace's hunters, "caught a fine cock of the rock, and gave it to his wife to feed, but the poor woman was obliged to live herself on cassava-bread and fruits, and abstain entirely from all animal food, peppers, and salt, which it was believed would cause the bird to die."[3] In Peru a candidate for the priesthood had to renounce the use of salt for a year.[4] Among the Dards the priest of a certain goddess must purify himself for an annual ceremony by refraining for seven days from salt, onions, beer, and other unholy food.[5] The Egyptian priests avoided salt when they were in a state of ceremonial purity.[6] Among the Arhuaco Indians of South America the medicine-men may eat no salt all their lives, but in other respects their diet is more generous than that of their fellows.[7]

Abstinence from salt combined with the practice of chastity.

Often abstinence from salt is combined with the practice of chastity. Thus it was a rule of ancient Hindoo ritual that for three nights after a husband has brought his bride home, the couple should sleep on the ground, remain chaste, and eat no salt.[8] When the Rajah of Long Wahou in Borneo has a son born to him, he must for five months sleep alone and take no salt with his food: he is also forbidden to smoke and to chew *sirih*.[9] Amongst some of the Dyaks of Borneo men who have returned successful from a head-hunting expedition have to keep apart and abstain from a variety of things for several days; in particular they may not have intercourse with women, nor eat salt or fish with bones, nor touch iron.[10] In the East Indian island of Nias the men who dig a pitfall for game have to observe a number of superstitious rules, the intention of which is partly to avoid giving umbrage to the beasts, partly to prevent the sides of the pit from falling in. Thus they are forbidden to eat salt, to bathe, and to scratch themselves in the pit; and the night after they have dug it they must have no

[1] *Panjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 59, § 362.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 520 note [141]. As to the Mohaves see above, vol. iii. pp. 247-250.

[3] A. R. Wallace, *Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1889), p. 349.

[4] A. Bastian, *Die Culturländer des Alten America* (Berlin, 1878), i. 479.

[5] Major J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta, 1880), p. 51.

[6] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Conviviales*, viii. 8. 2; *id.*, *De Iside et Osiride*, 5.

[7] W. Sievers, *Reise in der Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta* (Leipsic, 1887), p. 94.

[8] *The Grihya Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, Part i. p. 357, Part ii. p. 267 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vols. xxix., xxx.).

[9] Carl Bock, *The Head Hunters of Borneo*, p. 223.

[10] S. W. Tromp, "Uit de Salasila van Koetei," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxvii. (1888) p. 74.

intercourse with women.[1] Among the Creek or Muskogee Indians of North America men who had been wounded in war were confined in a small hut at a distance from the village and had to stay there for the space of four moons, keeping strictly apart and leading a very abstemious life; in particular they had to abstain from salt and from women. To avert the risk of incontinence, which, it was believed, would have delayed the cure, each of the wounded warriors was waited upon by an old superannuated woman. "But what is yet more surprising in their physical, or rather theological regimen, is, that the physician is so religiously cautious of not admitting polluted persons to visit any of his patients, lest the defilement should retard the cure, or spoil the warriors, that before he introduces any man, even any of their priests, who are married according to the law, he obliges him to assert either by a double affirmative, or by two negatives, that he has not known even his own wife, in the space of the last natural day."[2] When in the year 1765 a party of Chickasaw Indians returned home with two French scalps, the men had to remain secluded in the sweat-house for three days and nights fasting and purifying themselves with warm lotions and aspersions of the button-snake root. Meantime their women had to stand through the long frosty nights, from evening to morning, in two rows facing each other, one on each side of the door, singing for a man more together in a soft shrill voice to a solemn moving air, then remaining profoundly silent for ten minutes, till they again renewed the plaintive tune. During all this time they might have no intercourse with their husbands and might neither eat nor touch salt.[3] Again, at the solemn annual festival of the Busk, when the first-fruits of the earth were offered and the new fire kindled, Creek men and women had for three days to remain strictly chaste and to abstain rigidly from all food, but more particularly from salt.[4] In the solemn religious fasts observed by the semi-civilised Indians of Mexico, Central America, and Peru it seems to have been a common, perhaps a general, rule that the people should practise continence and eat no salt and no pepper.[5] For example, from the

Abstinence from salt combined with the practice of chastity.

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[1] J. W. Thomas, "De jacht op het eiland Nias," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1880) pp. 276 *sq.*

[2] James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), p. 125.

[3] James Adair, *op. cit.* pp. 164-166.

[4] A. A. M'Gillivray, in H. R. Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes of the United States*, v. 268.

[5] A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America*, translated by Captain John Stevens (London, 1725-1726), iii. 270, iv. 342, 349; Oviedo, *Histoire du Nicaragua* (Paris, 1840), pp. 228 *sq.* (Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux*, etc.); Diego de Landa, *Relation des choses de Yucatan* (Paris, 1864), pp. 278, 279; Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, translated by C. R. Markham (London, 1880), ii. 339, 376 *sq.*; Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*,

Abstinence from salt combined with the practice of chastity.

time that they sowed the maize till the time that they reaped it, the Indians of Nicaragua lived chastely and abstemiously, sleeping apart from their wives, eating no salt, and drinking neither *chicha* nor cocoa.[1] Similarly among the Peruvian Indians bride and bridegroom fasted for two days before marriage, eating no salt, no pepper, and no flesh, and drinking none of the native wine.[2] Every eight years the Mexicans celebrated a festival which was preceded by a fast of eight days. During this fast they ate nothing but maize-bread (*tamalli*) baked without salt and drank nothing but pure water. It was believed that if any one broke the fast, even in secret, God would punish him with leprosy. The reason which they assigned for this abstinence was singular. They said that the purpose of the fast observed on this occasion was to allow their means of subsistence to enjoy a period of repose; for they alleged that in ordinary times bread, which was their staple food, was fatigued by the admixture of salt and other spices, which humbled it and made it feel old. So they fasted from salt and other dainties in order to give back to the bread its lost youth. At the festival to which the fast was a prelude all the gods and goddesses were supposed to dance. Hence in the carnival or masked ball, which formed the chief feature of the celebration, there appeared a motley throng of dancers disguised as birds, beasts, butterflies, and beetles; while others garbed themselves as costermongers, sellers, lepers, and so forth. Round and round the image of the god Tlaloc circled the giddy dance, some of the dancers making desperate efforts to swallow living water-snakes and frogs, which they had picked up in their mouths from a tank at the feet of the image.[3]

This frequent association of abstinence from salt and abstinence from women is curious. The Nyanja-speaking peoples of British Central Africa extract salt from grass, and when a party of the people has gone to make salt, all the people in the village must observe strict continence until the return of the salt-makers. When the party returns, they must steal into the village by night without being seen by anybody. After that one of the village elders sleeps with his wife. She then cooks a relish and puts some of the new-made salt into it. This relish is handed round to the salt-makers, who rub it on their feet and under their armpits.[4] Similarly the

translated by C. R. Markham, vol. ii. p. 130; P. de Cieza de Leon, *Travels*, translated by C. R. Markham (London, 1864), pp. 296 *sq.*

[1] Oviedo, *Histoire du Nicaragua* (Paris, 1840), pp. 228 *sq.*

[2] A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America*, translated by Captain John Stevens (London, 1725-1726), iv. 342.

[3] Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, traduite par D. Jourdain et R. Simeon (Paris, 1880), pp. 170 *sq.* As to *tamalli* (maize-bread) see *id.* p. 20, note [4].

[4] R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja* (London, 1907), pp. 191 *sq.*

workers in the salt-pans near Siphoum in French Tonquin must abstain from all sexual relations in the place where they are at work.[1] However, in savage society the same rule of continence is observed in other industrial operations than the manufacture of salt. For example, in the Marquesas Islands a woman who is making cocoa-nut oil must be chaste for five days, otherwise she could extract no oil from the nuts.[2] Among the natives of Port Moresby in New Guinea it is a rule that when a party goes on a trading voyage westward to procure arrowroot, the leader has to observe strict continence, else the canoe would sink and all the arrowroot be lost.[3] In ancient Arabia the men who were engaged in collecting incense from the trees might not pollute themselves with women or with funerals.[4] Amongst the Masai the brewers of poison and of honey-wine must observe strict continence, else it is supposed that the poison and the honey-wine would be spoiled.[5] These and many similar cases of continence practised from superstitious motives by savages rest on certain primitive ideas of the physical influence of sexual intercourse, which we do not as yet fully understand.

Continence observed in certain industrial operations.

P. 42. **A Carib ceremony.**—With this ceremony we may compare an initiatory rite observed by the Andaman Islanders. The friends of the young man or young woman who is being initiated at puberty hunt and kill a wild boar or a wild sow according to the sex of the novice. The chief presses the carcase of the animal heavily on the shoulders, back, and limbs of the novice as he sits on the ground. "This is in token of his hereafter becoming, or proving himself to be, courageous and strong." The carcase is then cut up, the fat is melted and poured over the novice and rubbed into his person.[6] Amongst the Arunta uncircumcised lads are often struck on the calf of the leg with the leg-bone of an eagle-hawk, because this is supposed to impart strength to the boy's leg.[7] In these and many similar customs which might be cited[8] the valuable properties of the animal are supposed to be transferred to human beings by external application. But the customs appear to be quite independent of totemism.

P. 43.—**The youths at initiation sleep on the graves of their ancestors.**—Speaking of the initiatory rights of the Australian aborigines a writer says: "On another occasion a young man who followed the occupation of a fisherman, told me that he was com-

[1] É. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Paris, 1885), p. 141.

[2] G. H. von Langsdorff, *Reise um die Welt* (Frankfort, 1812), i. 119 *sq.*

[3] G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), pp. 349 *sq.*

[4] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xii. 54.

[5] See above, vol. ii. pp. 410 *sq.*

[6] E. H. Man, *The Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands* (London, n.d.), p. 66.

[7] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 472.

[8] For some other examples see *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, ii. 364 *sq.*

pelled to lie for two nights on the grave of one of his ancestors, who had also been a fisherman of some note; by this means he was supposed to inherit all the good qualities of his predecessor."[1] Among the Niska Indians of North-West America the novice resorted to a grave, took out a corpse, and lay with it all night wrapt in a blanket.[2]

P. 43. **In some of the Victorian tribes no person related to the youth by blood can interfere or assist in his initiation.**—In the Peake River tribe of South Australia none of a boy's relations are present when he is being circumcised; they are supposed not to know that the operation is taking place.[3]

P. 43. **The Australian ceremony at initiation of pretending to recall a dead man to life.**—A pretence of killing a man and bringing him to life again is a common ceremony of initiation among many peoples. Elsewhere I have collected examples of it.[4] We have seen that it forms a prominent part in the initiation rites of some secret societies in North America.[5] The Kikuyu of British East Africa "have a curious custom which requires that every boy just before circumcision must be born again. The mother stands up with the boy crouching at her feet, she pretends to go through all the labour pains and the boy on being reborn cries like a babe and is washed. He lives on milk for some days afterwards."[6] In the rites of initiation I do not remember to have met with another equally clear imitation of a new birth for the novice. But a pretence of being born again has formed part of a rite of adoption among some peoples;[7] and we have seen that in India it is practised as a mode of averting ill-luck or of raising a person either to a higher rank or to one which he has for some reason forfeited.[8]

Pretence of new birth at circumcision.

P. 44, note [3]. **The plucking of the hair from the pubes or incipient beard of the youth at initiation.**—This custom seems to have been widely diffused among the southern and eastern tribes of Australia. Thus among the tribes in the neighbourhood of Adelaide the hair of the pubes of novices was plucked out by operators of both sexes and various ages, even little children taking part in the work. When the hair had been pulled out, it was carefully rolled up in

Custom of plucking out the hair and beards of youths at initiation.

[1] J. F. Mann, "Notes on the Aborigines of Australia," *Proceedings of the Geographical Society of Australasia, New South Wales and Victorian Branches*, i. (1885) p. 44.

[2] See above, vol. iii. p. 542.

[3] R. Schomburgk, "Über einige Sitten und Gebräuche der tief im innern Südaustraliens, am Peake-Flusse und dessen Umgebung hausenden Stämme," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, 1879, p. (235) (appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x.).

[4] *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 222 *sqq.*

[5] See above, vol. iii. pp. 462 *sqq.*, 487 *sq.*, 489 *sq.*, 505, 542, 546.

[6] Extract from a letter of Mr. A. C. Hollis to me. Mr. Hollis's authority is Dr. T. W. W. Crawford of the Kenia Medical Mission.

[7] *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 21 *sq.*

[8] See above, pp. 208 *sq.*

green boughs, the hair of each novice being kept separately, and the packets were given to a wise man to be properly disposed of.[1] Amongst the Narrinyeri of South Australia the matted hair of the novices was combed or rather torn out with the point of a spear, and their moustaches and a great part of their beards plucked up by the roots. The lads were then besmeared from the crown of their head to their feet with a mixture of oil and red ochre.[2] In the Encounter Bay tribe of South Australia all the hair was singed or plucked out from the bodies of the novices except the hair of the head and beard; and then their whole bodies, with the exception of their faces, were rubbed over with grease and red ochre.[3] Among the tribes of South-West Victoria all the hairs of the beard were plucked out from the faces of novices at initiation.[4] Some of the tribes on the Murray River tore out the hair or down from the chins of the young men who were being initiated.[5] In the Moorundi tribe, about 180 miles up the Murray River, boys at initiation had the hair plucked from their bodies; the men who performed the operation were chosen from a distant tribe.[6] Among the Maraura-speaking tribes of the Lower Darling River the novice was stretched on the ground and all the hair was plucked from his cheeks and chin and given to his mother, who was present, crying and lamenting.[7] And with regard to the aborigines of the Darling River in general we are told that "the hair of the youth who is being initiated is cut short on his head and pulled out of his face, and red ochre, mixed with emu fat, smeared over his body; he wears a necklace of twisted opossum hair."[8] The Tongaranka, a tribe of the Itchumundi nation, to the west of the Darling River, depilated the private parts of the novices at initiation.[9] Among the tribes of the Paroo and Warrego Rivers in South Queensland the custom was to pluck out by the roots all the hairs of the novice's body.[10] The natives of the Mary River district in South Queensland shaved off the hair from all parts of the body but the head.[11] Similarly in Fiji at initiation the heads of novices were

[1] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 338.

[2] Rev. G. Taplin, "The Narrinyeri," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 17; *id.* in E. M. Curr's *The Australian Race*, ii. 254 *sq.*

[3] Rev. H. E. A. Meyer, "Manners and Customs of the Aborigines of the Encounter Bay Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 188.

[4] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 30.

[5] R. Brough Smith, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 65.

[6] G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, i. 98.

[7] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 675.

[8] F. Bonney, "On Some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 128.

[9] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 675.

[10] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. p. 273.

[11] E. M. Curr, *op. cit.* iii. 167.

shaved clean, and it is said that their shaven heads was an indication of childhood.[1]

The removal of the hair of novices at initiation was perhaps to assimilate them to new-born babes.

The meaning of this custom of removing the hair, especially the hair of the pubes and beard, of lads at initiation is not clear. But wherever the novice is supposed to be born again by means of these initiatory rites, it would be perfectly natural to remove the hair from his body, especially from these particular parts of it, in order to increase his resemblance to a new-born babe. For even the savage mind could hardly fail to be struck by the incongruity of a young man with a beard pretending to be a tender infant. The Australian practice of smearing the lads all over with red ochre may be an attempt to assimilate them still more closely to newly born infants, the red ochre being a substitute for blood; and the same may perhaps be said of the corresponding South African practice of daubing the novices all over with white clay just after they have been circumcised,[2] for the new-born children of black races are at first reddish brown and soon turn slaty grey.[3] It is possible that the ancient Greek custom of polling the beards or the hair of youths and maidens at puberty or before marriage and dedicating the shorn locks to a god or goddess, a hero or a heroine,[4] may have been a survival of a similar pretence of a new birth at this critical time of life. Even the monkish tonsure may perhaps be remotely connected with the same primitive practice.

P. 44. **Connected with this mimic death and revival of a clansman appears to be the real death and supposed revival of the totem itself.**—With regard to what follows in the text I desire the reader particularly to observe, first, that there is no clear evidence that any of the slain animals are totems; and, second, that none of the slain animals are eaten by the worshippers. The instances cited, therefore, furnish no solid basis for a theory of what has been called a totem sacrament. That theory was a creation of my brilliant and revered friend the late W. Robertson Smith. For many years it remained a theory and nothing more, without a single positive

Robertson Smith's theory of a totem sacrament.

[1] Rev. L. Fison, "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure, of Wainimala, Fiji," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885) pp. 20, 23.

[2] Rev. J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890) pp. 268 *sq.*; J. Stewart, *Lovedale, South Africa* (Edinburgh, 1894), pp. 105 *sq.*: "They are covered from head to foot with white clay, which makes them look as if they were whitewashed. This gives them a very ghastly appearance, and they are commonly called the white boys by Europeans. . . . After several weeks, the white clay is washed off in the nearest river, red clay takes its place, and a new *kaross* or blanket is given to each. All the old clothing, such as it is, is also burned. The lads are then assembled to receive advice and instruction from the old men as to their new duties. They are now to act as men, being acknowledged as such."

[3] E. B. Tylor, *Anthropology* (London, 1881), p. 67.

[4] See my article "Artemis and Hippolytus," *The Fortnightly Review*, December 1904, pp. 982, 985 *sq.*

instance of such a sacrament being known to support it. Then came the great discoveries of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in Central Australia, which made an era in the study of primitive man. Amongst the many new facts which their admirable investigations brought to light was a custom which may in a sense be called a totem sacrament. For they found that the members of totem clans in Central Australia, while they generally abstain from eating their totemic animals or plants, nevertheless do at certain times partake of them as part of a solemn ritual for the multiplication of these animals or plants. When the totem is an edible animal or plant, the members of each totemic clan are bound to perform magical ceremonies (*intichiuma*) for the increase of their totems, in order that the animals and plants may be eaten by the rest of the community, although not as a rule by the performers themselves, who have these animals or plants for their totems. And that the ceremonies may accomplish their object successfully, it is deemed essential that the members of each totemic clan should eat a little of their totem; to eat none of it or to eat too much would equally defeat the aim of those magical rites which are designed to ensure a supply of food, both animal and vegetable, for the tribe.[1]

Totem sacrament in Central Australia.

Thus a totem sacrament of a sort has been discovered among the tribes of Central Australia, and "Robertson Smith's wonderful intuition—almost prevision—has been strikingly confirmed after the lapse of years. Yet what we have found is not precisely what he expected. The sacrament he had in his mind was a religious rite; the sacrament we have found is a magical ceremony. He thought that the slain animal was regarded as divine, and never killed except to furnish the mystic meal; as a matter of fact, the animals partaken of sacramentally by the Central Australians are in no sense treated as divine, and though they are not as a rule killed and eaten by the men and women whose totems they are, nevertheless they are habitually killed and eaten by all the other members of the community; indeed, the evidence goes to show that at an earlier time they were commonly eaten also by the persons whose totems they were, nay, even that such persons partook of them more freely, and were supposed to have a better right to do so than any one else. The object of the real totem sacrament which Messrs. Spencer and Gillen have discovered is not to attain to a mystical communion with a deity, but simply to ensure a plentiful supply of food for the rest of the community by means of sorcery. In short, what we have found is not religion, but that which was first the predecessor, and afterwards the hated rival of religion; I mean magic."[2]

But the Central Australian totemic sacrament is magical, not religious.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), pp. 167-211; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), pp. 283-327. See also above, vol. i. pp. 102-112, 183-186, 214-242.

[2] J. G. Frazer, "on some Ceremonies of the Central Australian

The only other apparent instance of what may be called a totem sacrament with which I am acquainted is the one which is reported by Mr. N. W. Thomas from West Africa.[1] But his report is brief, and it seems desirable to obtain fuller particulars of the custom before we can definitely assign it a place in the very short list of totem sacraments.

P. 44.—**Some Californian Indians killed the buzzard, and then buried and mourned over it.**—However, there is no evidence or probability that the buzzard was their totem. Totemism appears not to have been practised by any tribe of Californian Indians.[2]

Zuñi ceremony of bringing back the turtles and killing them.

P. 44. **A Zuñi ceremony described by an eye-witness, Mr. Cushing.**—The ceremony of bringing the tortoises or turtles to the village of Zuñi has been described much more fully by a later writer, Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson. It forms part of the elaborate ritual observed by these Indians at the midsummer solstice, when the sacred fire is kindled.[3] Envoys are sent to fetch "their otherselves, the tortoises," from the sacred lake Kothluwalawa, to which the souls of the dead are supposed to go. When the creatures have thus been solemnly brought to Zuñi, they are placed in a bowl of water near the middle of the floor, and ritual dances are performed beside them. "After the ceremonial the tortoises are taken home by those who caught them and are hung by their necks to the rafters till morning, when they are thrown into pots of boiling water. The eggs are considered a great delicacy. The meat is seldom touched except as a medicine, which is a curative for cutaneous diseases. Part of the meat is deposited in the river, with *kohakwa* (white shell beads) and turquoise beads, as offerings to the Council of the Gods."[4]

As the lake from which the turtles are brought is the place to which the souls of the departed are supposed to repair, Mrs. Stevenson's account confirms the interpretation which I had independently given of the ceremony. I pointed out that the Zuñis believe in their transmigration or transformation at death into their totemic animals, and that the tortoise or turtle is reported by one authority to be a Zuñi totem. Hence the intention of killing the turtles in which, according to Mr. Cushing's account, the souls of dead kinsfolk are supposed to be incarnate, is

Tribes," *Proceedings of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science* (Melbourne, 1901), pp. 316 *sq.* Elsewhere I have pointed out on how very slender a basis the theory of a totem sacrament has been built. See *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition (London, 1900), vol. i. pp. xviii. *sq.*

[1] See above, vol. ii. pp. 589 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. iii. pp. 1 *sq.*

[3] See above, vol. iii. pp. 237 *sq.*

[4] Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 153-161. As to Kothluwalawa, the lake of the dead, from which the turtles are brought, see above, vol. iii. p. 233 n.[2].

apparently "to keep up a communication with the other world in which the souls of the departed are believed to be assembled in the form of turtles. It is a common belief that the spirits of the dead return occasionally to their old homes; and accordingly the unseen visitors are welcomed and feasted by the living, and then sent upon their way. In the Zuñi ceremony the dead are fetched home in the form of turtles, and the killing of the turtles is the way of sending back the souls to the spirit-land."[1]

This interpretation of the Zuñi custom of killing the turtles supersedes the one which, following W. Robertson Smith, I formerly suggested with some hesitation, namely, that it might be a piacular sacrifice in which the god dies for his people.[2] But a doubt remains whether the ceremony is totemic or not; for though the turtle or tortoise is included in the list of Zuñi totems given by Captain J. G. Bourke, it is not included in the lists given by Mr. Cushing and Mrs. Stevenson.[3]

P. 60. **Phratries . . . subphratries.**—With Howitt and Fison I now prefer to call these exogamous divisions by the names of classes and subclasses.

Silence imposed on women at marriage.

P. 63, note [5]. **The custom . . . of imposing silence on women for a long time after marriage.**—We have seen that among the tribes of South-West Victoria, where husband and wife always spoke different languages, the newly married couple were not allowed to speak to each other for two moons after marriage, and that if during this time they needed to converse with one another the communication had to be made through friends.[4] Elsewhere we meet with some scattered indications of an apparently widespread custom, which forbade a wife to speak to any one but her husband until she had given birth to a child. Thus with regard to the Taveta of British East Africa we read: "One singular custom of theirs in connection with marriage I must relate. Brides are set apart for the first year as something almost too good for earth. They are dressed, adorned, physicked, and pampered in every way, almost like goddesses. They are screened from vulgar sight, exempted from all household duties, and prohibited from all social intercourse with all of the other sex except their husbands. They are never left alone, are accompanied by some one wherever they may wish to go, and are not permitted to exert themselves in the least; even in their short walks they creep at a snail's pace, lest they should overstrain their muscles. Two of these celestial beings were permitted to visit me. Both were very elaborately got up and in precisely the same manner.

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition (London, 1900), ii. 374. The belief in the periodical return of the dead to their old homes is illustrated with many examples in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), pp. 301-318.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 45.

[3] See above, vol. iii. p. 216.

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 466, 468.

Around the head was worn a band of parti-coloured beads, to which was attached a half-moon of bead-work in front, so as to fall down over the forehead. Below this, fastened round the temples, fell a veil of iron chain, hanging to below the lips in closely arranged lengths. . . . They honoured me only with their eyes; they did not let me hear the mellow harmony of their voices. They had to see and be seen, but not to be heard or spoken to. Brides are treated in this manner until they present their husbands with a son or daughter, or the hope of such a desired event has passed away."[1]

Silence of Armenian brides.

A similar custom is reported of Armenian brides. "Young girls go unveiled, bareheaded, wherever they please, the young men may woo them openly, and marriages founded on affection are common. But it is different with the young wife. The 'Yes' before the bridal altar is for a time the last word she is heard to speak! From that time on she appears everywhere, even in the house, deeply veiled, especially with the lower part of the face, the mouth, quite hidden, even the eyes behind the veil. No one sees her in the street, even to church she goes only twice a year, at Easter and Christmas, under a deep veil; if a stranger enters the house or the garden, she hides herself immediately. With no one may she speak even one word, not with her own father and brother! She speaks only with her husband, when she is alone with him! With all other persons in the house she may communicate only by pantomime.[2] In this dumbness, which is enjoined by custom, she persists till she has given birth to her first child. From that time on she is again gradually emancipated; she speaks with the new-born child, then her husband's mother is the first person with whom she talks; after some time she may speak with her own mother; then the turn comes for her husband's sister, and then also for her own sisters. Next she begins to converse with the young girls of the house, but all very softly in whispers, that none of the men may hear! Only after six or more years is she fully emancipated and her education complete. Nevertheless it is not proper that she should ever speak with strange men, or that they should see her unveiled."[3]

[1] Charles New, *Life, Wanderings and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), pp. 360 *sq.* This enforced silence of Taveta brides is not mentioned by Mr. A. C. Hollis in his account of the Taveta marriage customs ("Taveta Customs," *Journal of the African Society*, No. 1, October 1901, pp. 113-117). Perhaps the custom has fallen into disuse since Mr. New wrote.

[2] "I saw to my great astonishment that these pantomimes were the same that may often be seen as a game also with us among young people, especially girls: signs are made with the hands, the fingers, by laying them over each other, by crossing the fingers or setting them side by side, etc., so to indicate letters or syllables. . . . What to us now seems an arbitrary, childish invention may ultimately have a deep historical significance!" (Haxthausen's note).

[3] A. Freiherr von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia* (Leipsic, 1856), i. 200 *sq.*

The Ossetes of the Caucasus observe a similar custom. With them also custom enjoins the strictest reserve on a young wife until she has borne a child. Till then she may not exchange a word with any one but her husband; even with her parents and brothers and sisters she speaks only in pantomime. But as soon as she has given birth to a child, or, if she remains childless, after four years she is completely emancipated from the rule of silence.[1] Among the South Slavs it is said that in old times a bride wore her veil till the birth of her first child, and that all this time she did not speak to her father-in-law or mother-in-law.[2] In Albania it is contrary to all good manners for a bride to chat with her husband in presence of others, even of her husband's parents, until she has given birth to a child.[3] Elsewhere we meet with similar rules of prolonged silence imposed on brides without mention of the relief afforded by the birth of a child. Thus we read that among the Abchasses of the Western Caucasus a bride speaks with no one for some months after her marriage; then she begins to converse with the younger members of the household and of the village, afterwards with older people, and last of all with her father-in-law and mother-in-law.[4] Another traveller in the Caucasus says that for a year from the day of her marriage a Tartar bride is not allowed to speak a word louder than a whisper, not even with her own parents; but after the lapse of a year a feast is held, and then she recovers the full use of her tongue.[5] In the island of Peru, one of the Gilbert Group in the South Pacific, it was a custom "to prohibit a married woman, for years after marriage, from looking at or speaking to any one but her husband. When she went anywhere she covered herself up with a mat, made on purpose, and which was so folded in Corean style as to leave but a small hole in front for her to see the road before her. Any man observing her coming along would get out of the way till she passed. Any deviation from the rule would lead to jealousy and its revengeful consequences."[6] In Sardinia a similar custom of silence used to be imposed on lovers before marriage, as we learn from the following account: "The process of courtship in Sardinia was until a few years ago carried on in an exceptionally singular manner. The lovers were not permitted to meet either privately or in society, and if a meeting should accidentally occur, they recognised each other as distant acquaintances, neither shaking hands nor holding converse together. The only communication between them was conducted through the medium of the 'deaf and dumb' alphabet, the lady performer

Women forbidden to speak for some time after marriage.

[1] Von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia*, ii. 23.

[2] F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Vienna, 1885), p. 450.

[3] J. G. von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien* (Jena, 1854), i. 147.

[4] N. v. Seidlitz (Tiflis), "Die Abchasen," *Globus*, lxvi. (1894) p. 41.

[5] Edmund Spencer, *Travels in Circassia* (London, 1837), ii. 138.

[6] G. Turner, *Samoa* (London, 1884), p. 298.

hanging over the balcony, or half hidden by the curtain of her room, and the gentleman standing below; this process was continued very often for several hours, the rapidity and dexterity, as also the patience and perseverance, exhibited on these occasions being truly marvellous. Courtship after this fashion has been known to be protracted for years."[1]

Young wives forbidden to speak with their husbands.

In the preceding cases the young wife, though she is forbidden to converse with other people, is allowed to speak to her husband. But in some African tribes she may not even do this. Thus among the Wabemba, to the west of Lake Tanganyika, "a young married woman refuses at first to speak and especially to eat in presence of her husband. This situation is prolonged in proportion to the high rank of the husband. The observation of this respectful silence is called *kusimbila*. However, there is something artful in the silence, for the husband must give his wife a present (*kusikula*) to untie her tongue. Sometimes, indeed often, the present is not enough and must be repeated twice or thrice. This is called *kuliana*."[2] Similarly, among the Wahorohoro "in the early days of marriage the wife remains absolutely dumb in presence of her husband; and just as among the Wabemba the husband must give her a present in order to hear her voice."[3]

The silence imposed on women after marriage has probably its root in some superstition.

What is the meaning of the rule of silence thus imposed on lovers before marriage or on brides after it? The example of the tribes of South-West Victoria supplies at least a possible explanation; for among them husband and wife always belonged to tribes speaking different languages, the pair continued to speak each his and her own language even after marriage, and both before marriage and for two months after it they were forbidden to converse with each other at all.[4] Thus it is suggested that the enforced silence may be only a formal acknowledgment of the difference of language between husband and wife and the consequent difficulty which they have in communicating with each other. In support of this explanation it might perhaps be urged that the custom in question appears to be especially prevalent among the peoples of the Caucasus, who belong to many different races and speak many different tongues, and amongst whom therefore it may often happen that husband and wife are unable to speak or understand each other's languages. Yet it seems very doubtful whether this explanation suffices for all the instances I have cited. How, for example, can it be supposed to apply to the Gilbert Islands in the South Pacific, where probably no speech but Polynesian was ever heard till the advent of Europeans? More probably the silence of

[1] R. Tennant, *Sardinia and its Resources* (Rome and London, 1885), p. 232.

[2] Ch. Delhaise, *Notes ethnographiques sur quelques Peuplades du Tanganika* (Brussels, 1905), pp. 17 *sq.*

[3] Ch. Delhaise, *op. cit.* p. 36.

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 466-468.

the wife till her first child is born rests on some superstitious belief touching her first pregnancy which as yet we do not understand. This view is to a certain extent confirmed by the parallel rule of silence which many peoples impose on widows, and sometimes on widowers, for a considerable time after their bereavement; for there is clear evidence that the silence of the widow or widower springs from a superstitious fear of attracting the dangerous attentions of the ghost of the deceased spouse.[1] But if a widow is tongue-tied by superstition, so may be the wife, though the particular superstition may be different. In the Warramunga tribe of Central Australia the custom of silence after a death is observed by many other women besides the widow; all the time they are under the ban, these women converse silently with each other on their fingers, and become so expert in the gesture language and so accustomed to it that some of them never resume the use of their tongue, but prefer to talk on their fingers, hands, and arms for the rest of their days.[2] Thus the substitution of the gesture language for speech occurs among some races at three of the most important periods of a woman's career, at her wooing, her early wedded life, and her widowhood. Probably in all three cases the motive for conduct so opposed to the natural instincts of women is superstition.

Parallel rule of silence observed by widows.

P. 64. **Amongst the Caribs the language of the men differed to some extent from that of the women.**—This remarkable peculiarity is shared by several other South American languages, though it has been oftenest noted among the Caribs.[3] The differences between

[1] See the evidence collected by me in my note, "The Silent Widow," in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), i. 256-258. To the examples there cited I will add another from the Indians of California: "Around Auburn, a devoted widow never speaks, on any occasion or upon any pretext, for several months, sometimes a year or more, after the death of her husband. Of this singular fact I had ocular demonstration. Elsewhere, as on the American River, she speaks only in a whisper for several months" (S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 327).

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 500 *sq.*; *id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 525 *sq.*

[3] As to the differences between the modes of speech of men and women in the Carib language see J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amerique* (Paris, 1654), p. 462; De Rochefort, *Histoire naturelle et morale des Antilles* (Rotterdam, 1665), pp. 349 *sq.*; De la Borde, "Relation de l'origine, mœurs, coustumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraibes, sauvages des Isles Antilles de l'Amerique," in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique qui n'ont point esté encore publiez* (Paris, 1684), pp. 4, 39; Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Isles de l'Amerique*, Nouvelle Édition (Paris, 1742), vi. 127 *sq.*, 129; Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages ameriquains* (Paris, 1724), i. 55; A. von Humboldt, *Reise in die Aquinoctial-Gegenden des neuen Continents, in deutscher Bearbeitung*, von H. Hauff (Stuttgart, 1874), iv. 204 *sq.*; F. A. Ober, *Camps in the Caribbees* (Edinburgh, 1880), pp. 100 *sq.*; J. N. Rat, "The Carib Language as now spoken in Dominica, West Indies," *Journal of the*

Difference of language between men and women.

the speech of the sexes in these tribes extend both to the vocabulary and to the grammatical terminations. How they are to be explained is uncertain. They appear not to correspond at all to the differences which have been observed between the speech of men and women in some Caffre languages; for whereas the Caffre differences are based on a superstitious avoidance of certain words and syllables by the women and vary from one woman to another,[1] there is no evidence that the American differences originate in that way, and they seem to be constant for all the men and women of a tribe. I have conjectured that differences between the speech of the sexes, such as we find in South America, but hardly, if at all, anywhere else,[2] may account for the origin of grammatical gender in language, feminine terminations perhaps representing the speech of women and masculine terminations the speech of men.[3] But it cannot be said that there is much evidence to support the hypothesis.

Australian tradition of the origin of the Eaglehawk and Crow exogamous classes.

P. 64. **Native Australian traditions as to the origin of these various tribal divisions.**—"The aborigines of the northern parts of Victoria say that the world was created by beings whom they call *Nooralie*—beings that existed a very long time ago. They name a man who is very old *Nooralpily*. They believe that the beings who created all things had severally the form of the Crow and the Eagle. There was continual war between these two beings, but peace was made at length. They agreed that the Murray blacks should be divided into two classes—the *Mak-quarra* or Eaglehawk, and the *Kil-parra* or Crow. The conflict that was waged between the rival powers is thus preserved in song :—

Anthropological Institute, xxvii. (1898), pp. 311 *sq.*; C. Sapper, "Mittelamericanische Caraiben," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, x. (1897), pp. 57 *sq.* As to other South American languages in which analogous differences between the speech of men and women have been observed, see Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (Vienna, 1784), ii. 193; F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale* (Paris, 1809), ii. 106 *sq.*; A. d'Orbigny, *L'Homme américain* (Paris, 1839), i. 153, ii. 135, 163; R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana* (Leipsic, 1847-1848), i. 227; C. F. Phil. von Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens*, i. (Leipsic, 1867), pp. 106 *sq.*, 704; P. Ehrenreich, "Materialien zur Sprachenkunde Brasiliens," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxvi. (1894), pp. 23-50; Th. Koch, "Die Guaikuru-Gruppe," *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (1903), pp. 16 *sq.*

[1] See *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 413 *sq.*

[2] In the Tenggerese language, spoken in the Tenger mountains of Eastern Java, the women say *Ingsum* and the men say *Reang* for "I," the first personal pronoun singular. See J. H. F. Kohlbrugge, "Die Tĕnggĕresen, ein alter javanische Volksstamm," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, liii. (1901) p. 94.

[3] J. G. Frazer, "A Suggestion as to the Origin of Gender in Language," *The Fortnightly Review*, January 1900, pp. 79-90.

Thinj-ami	*balkee*	*mako* ;
Knee	strike	Crow ;
Nato-panda	*Kambe-ar*	*tora ;*
Spear	father	of him.

The meaning of which is: 'Strike the Crow on the knee; I will spear his father.' The war was maintained with great vigour for a length of time. The Crow took every possible advantage of his nobler foe, the Eagle; but the latter generally had ample revenge for injuries and insults. Out of their enmities and final agreement arose the two classes, and thence a law governing marriages amongst these classes." [1]

This tradition is notable because it relates that the division of a tribe into two exogamous classes, Eaglehawk and Crow, arose through the reconciliation of two hostile beings. The division of a tribe into two classes *Mukwara* (*Mak-quarra*) and *Kilpara* (*Kil-parra*) extended over a great part of New South Wales.[2] The account of their origin which I have just quoted shews that the names mean Eaglehawk and Crow respectively; so that this large group of tribes must be added to those whose exogamous classes or phratries are named after animals.[3] The natives of the Lower Darling River had a tradition that their ancestor arrived on the banks of the river, which were then uninhabited, with two wives called respectively Mukwara (Mookwara) and Kilpara (Keelpara); that the sons of Mukwara took to wife the daughters of Kilpara, and that the children of the marriage, taking their names from their mothers, were called Kilparas; while conversely the sons of Kilpara took to wife the daughters of Mukwara, and the children of the marriage, taking their name from their mothers, were called Mukwaras. Afterwards, so runs the tradition, the two classes were subdivided, the Mukwaras into Kangaroos and Opossums, and the Kilparas into Emus and Ducks; and henceforth, for example, a Kilpara man of the Emu subdivision could not marry any Mukwara woman indiscriminately, but only such as belonged to the proper subdivision. That, the natives said, was the origin of their exogamous classes and subclasses, and of the laws which regulated their marriage ever afterwards.[4] In this tradition the origin of the subclasses is explained, with great probability, by a subdivision of each of the original classes. The old law which divided the Woiworung tribe into two classes, Eaglehawk and Crow, was said to have been brought by the wizards from Bunjil, the headman in the sky.[5]

[1] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 423 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 380-392.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 417.

[4] The tradition is reported by C. G. N. Lockhart, cited by E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 165 *sq.*

[5] A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Beliefs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) p. 195.

In regard to the diffusion of exogamous classes named after the eagle-hawk and the crow, it is to be observed that they are found in at least two other tribes (the Ngarigo and Wolgal tribes of South-Eastern New South Wales), whose native names for the two birds are quite different.[1] Arguing from the wide distribution of exogamous classes named after the eagle-hawk and crow in South-East Australia, and also from the native myths and superstitions which cluster round the birds, the Rev. John Mathew suggested that "the eaglehawk and the crow represent two distinct races of men which once contested for the possession of Australia, the taller, more powerful and more fierce 'eaglehawk' race overcoming and in places exterminating the weaker, more scantily equipped sable 'crows.'"[2] But there seems to be no sufficient evidence of any racial distinction between the exogamous divisions of the Australian aborigines; and, as I have already pointed out, it appears to be far more probable that these divisions arose by subdivision than by amalgamation.[3]

Theory of a racial difference between the Eagle-hawk and Crow classes.

P. 67. **In Bengal . . . Mr. Risley . . . and his coadjutors have found no tribe with female descent, etc.**—In the text I refer to the Kasias (Khasis) of Assam as an exception which appeared to have escaped the attention of (Sir) H. H. Risley. But I was in error. Although Assam, the home of the Khasis, was included in Bengal when Col. Dalton composed his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, it had ceased to belong to it before Sir Herbert Risley wrote. Hence the mother-kin of the Khasis formed no exception to the general proposition laid down by him as to the universal prevalence of father-kin in Bengal. My mistake was courteously corrected by Sir Herbert Risley.[4]

P. 69. **In some Australian tribes sons take their totem from their father and daughters from their mother.**—This statement is not well founded and is probably quite incorrect. As to the Dieri I was misled by a statement of S. Gason, who appears to have been in error on this point.[5] As to the Ikula or Morning Star tribe the account in the text has not been repeated by Dr. A. W. Howitt in his book and is probably erroneous.[6]

P. 71. **A transition from female to male descent.**—Amongst the Melanesians who practise the system of mother-kin or female descent, Dr. Codrington has recorded some customs which seem to mark a transition to father-kin or male descent. The customs in question are observed at the birth of a first-born son. "At Araga,

As to Bunjil see A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 489 *sqq.*

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 393 *sq.*

[2] Rev. John Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow, a Study of the Australian Aborigines* (London, 1899), p. 19.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 282 *sqq.*

[4] See also above, vol. ii. p. 318, note [3].

[5] See above, vol. i. p. 345 note [1].

[6] See above, vol. i. p. 473, note [2].

Pentecost Island, a first-born son remains ten days in the house in which he was born, during which time the father's kinsmen take food to the mother. On the tenth day they bring nothing, but the father gives them food and mats, which count as money, in as great quantity as he can afford. They, the kin of the father and therefore not kin of the infant, on that day perform a certain ceremony called *huhuni*; they lay upon the infant's head mats and the strings with which pigs are tied, and the father tells them that he accepts this as a sign that hereafter they will feed and help his son. There is clearly in this a movement towards the patriarchal system, a recognition of the tie of blood through the father and of duties that follow from it. Another sign of the same advance of the father's right is to be seen in the very different custom that prevails in the Banks' Islands on the birth of a first-born son; there is raised upon that event, a noisy and playful fight, *vagalo*, after which the father buys off the assailants with payment of money to the other *veve*,[1] to the kinsmen that is of the child and his mother. It is hardly possible to be mistaken in taking this fight to be a ceremonial, if playful, assertion of the claim of the mother's kinsfolk to the child as one of themselves, and the father's payment to be the quieting of their claim and the securing of his own position as head of his own family."[2] In both these cases the members of the father's class (*veve*) establish a claim to the child by making presents to the members of the mother's class, to whom the boy belongs by birth; not to put too fine a point on it, they buy the child from his kinsmen. In short the transition from mother-kin to father-kin is here made very simply by purchase. Similarly among the Sakalava of Madagascar, "the marriage feast being over, the young husband, in order to secure an absolute right to his wife and the first child, but especially the child, makes a present of an ox to his wife's parents, and a further present of four yards of cloth or a large bag of rice to each of her nearest relatives. These must be presented before his wife gives birth to her first child, as they are regarded as the payment necessary to secure the child for himself, and if not made in proper time, he loses his right to be considered the father of the child, which then belongs to his father-in-law and mother-in-law."[3]

Transition from mother-kin to father-kin effected by buying the child from the mother's family.

[1] It may be remembered that in the Banks' Islands the people are divided into two exogamous classes, each of which is called a *veve*. See vol. ii. pp. 69 *sq.*

[2] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 230 *sq.* In New Ireland the birth of a first-born child is celebrated by sham fights between men and women, the men armed with cudgels, the women with stones, clods, or anything hard that comes to hand. After exchanging some shrewd knocks they separate with laughter and jests. See R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 269 *sq.* Perhaps these sham fights may be a relic of contests between the father's clan and the mother's clan for possession of the child.

[3] A. Walen, "The Sakalava," *The*

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Blood-covenant between husband and wife at marriage.

P. 72. **Smearing bride and bridegroom with each other's blood.**—This custom is practised by the Birhors, a hill tribe of the Munda stock in India. At marriage "the only ceremony is drawing blood from the little fingers of the bridegroom and bride, and with this the *tilak* is given to each by marks made above the clavicle."[1] Among the Basutos, on the morning after the consummation of the marriage the medicine-man scratches husband and wife on the inner side of the elbow, hand, foot, and knee, takes the blood from the husband's wounds and smears it on the wounds of his wife, and similarly takes the wife's blood and smears it on the wounds of her husband.[2] Similarly among the Herero at marriage the mother of the bridegroom makes some cuts with a knife in the thighs of both the wedded pair, and rubs the man's blood over the woman's cuts and the woman's blood over the man's.[3] Such customs are clearly examples of the common ceremony known as the blood-covenant, whereby people are made of one blood in the most literal sense by putting some of the blood of each into the body of the other. But it is obvious that such a rite may be used just as well to transfer the husband to the wife's clan as to transfer the wife to the husband's; hence it might serve as a stepping-stone from father-kin to mother-kin quite as easily as a stepping-stone from mother-kin to father-kin. We cannot, therefore, assume, wherever we find the ceremony, that it is practised with the intention of altering the line of descent, still less that it is intended to alter it in one direction only, namely from maternal descent to paternal descent.

In some parts of Polynesia, curiously enough, it was the blood of the mothers of the married pair which was mingled at marriage. "On some occasions, the female relatives cut their faces and brows with the instrument set with shark's teeth, received the flowing blood on a piece of native cloth, and deposited the cloth, sprinkled with the mingled blood of the mothers of the married pair, at the feet of the bride."[4]

P. 72. **If the husband gives nothing, the children of the marriage belong to the wife's family.**—One of the commonest, as it is one of the easiest, modes of effecting a change of descent from the maternal to the paternal line would seem to be the purchase of the wife; for when she has been bought and paid for, any children whom she may bear are, in virtue of that payment,

Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine, No. 8 (Christmas, 1884), pp. 53 *sq.*

[1] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 220.

[2] H. Grützner, "Über die Gebräuche der Basutho," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte*, 1877, p. 77 (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix.).

[3] J. Irle, *Die Herero* (Gütersloh, 1906), p. 154.

[4] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, i. (London, 1832) p. 272.

regarded as the property of the purchaser, her husband, whether he is the actual father of the children or not. Thus for example with regard to the natives of the Lower Congo we read "a few other examples of native manners and customs may be of interest. I will give one concerning inheritance, which is rather curious. It has already been said that descent is reckoned through females; the meaning of this may not be clear to all. If a man die, the bulk of his property goes to his sister's son, not to his son; the reason being that of the blood-relationship of the nephew there can be no doubt, but the descent of the son may be questioned. The nephew is, therefore, looked on as a nearer relative than the son, and he is the heir, and should he die, more grief is felt than in the case of the son. A strange exception is made when a man marries a slave of his: the son then ranks first in this case, as the natives say that he is not only presumably the next-of-kin by birth, but also by purchase, as the mother belonged to the father."[1] Similarly among the Kimbunda "sons begotten in marriage are regarded as the property, not of their father, but of their maternal uncle; and their own father, even so long as they are minors and under his protection, has no power over them. Also the sons are not the heirs of their father but of their uncle, and the latter can dispose of them with unlimited authority, even to the extent of selling them in case of necessity. Only the children born of slave women are regarded as really the property of their father and are also his heirs."[2]

Change from maternal to paternal descent (from mother-kin to father-kin) effected by purchasing the wife and with her the children.

A similar distinction between the children of a wife who has been paid for and the children of a wife who has not been paid for seems to prevail widely among the peoples of the Indian Archipelago; there, also, the children of a purchased wife belong to the father, but the children of an unpaid-for wife belong to herself and to her family. Thus among the Alfoors or aborigines of Halmahera, when the bridal price has not been paid, the wife continues to live in her parents' house; the impecunious husband takes up his abode with them, and all his services go to the advantage of his wife. But as soon as he has paid the price, his wife becomes his legal property and he may either take her to live with his own parents or set up an independent household of his own. Further, we are told, "the conception of legal property is extended also to the children. Those whom he begets by the woman before the payment of the

Custom of purchasing wife and children in the Indian Archipelago.

[1] R. C. Phillips, "The Lower Congo, a Sociological Study," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvii. (1888) pp. 229 *sq.* The parts of Africa referred to in this paper are "the Congo River, from about Vivi downwards to the mouth, and the coast northwards to Loango, and southwards as far as Kinsembo" (*ibid.* p. 214). Compare A. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, 165.

[2] Ladislaus Magyar, *Reisen in Süa-Afrika in den Jahren 1849 bis 185* (Buda-Pesth and Leipsic, 1859), p. 284.

bridal price (*besi*) do not belong to the father, but are the property of the mother."[1] So in Ceram, if a man has not paid for his wife he lives in her house as a member of her family and the children remain with her parents.[2] In the Timor Laut islands, also, so long as the bridal price is not fully paid, the wife has the right to stay with her parents and is not completely subject to her husband. It is a great advantage to him to pay the price of his wife in full before she bears a child, for he thus obtains entire power over her and a right to all her children.[3] Similarly among the Battas of Sumatra, if a man cannot pay for his wife he goes to live with her family and works for them till he is able to discharge the debt. Sometimes he stays with them till a daughter of his is grown up and given in marriage; whereupon with the sum of money he receives for her he pays the debt which he has long owed for her mother, his wife. But should he never succeed in meeting the obligations he incurred at marriage, then when he dies the children belong to the mother or, if she is dead, to her family.[4]

Effect of wealth in promoting the change from mother-kin to father-kin.

Thus it seems probable that in communities organised on the system of mother-kin a general increase of wealth may tend to promote a change to father-kin, and that in two ways, both by supplying a motive for the change and by furnishing the means to effect it. For the more property a man owns the more anxious he will be to bequeath it to his children, and the easier it will be for him to do so by compensating those who under the system of mother-kin would have been the rightful heirs.

In the customs which have been called couvade there is no good evidence that the father pretends to have given birth to the

Pp. 72 *sq.*—**The couvade . . . is perhaps a fiction intended to transfer to the father those rights over the children, etc.**—This view, though it has been held by Bachofen and other authorities of repute, is almost certainly erroneous. It rests on what seems to be a misinterpretation of the facts. For it assumes that the custom consists of a simulation of childbirth by the father in order that he may acquire those rights over his children which under a former system of mother-kin had been possessed by the mother and her family alone. But of such a custom not a single well-authenticated instance, so far as I know, has been adduced.[5] The ancient Greek

[1] C. F. H. Campen, "De Alfoeren van Halemahera," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, April 1883, pp. 286 *sq.*

[2] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 132.

[3] J. G. F. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 301.

[4] J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane- en Bila- Stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, Deel iii. Afdeeling, Meer uitgebreide Artikelen, No. 3 (Amsterdam, 1886), p. 472.

[5] For examples of the couvade see especially E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, Third Edition (London, 1878), pp. 291 *sqq.*; H. Ploss, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*, Zweite Auflage (Leipsic, 1884), ii. 143 *sqq.*; H. Ling Roth,

poet Apollonius Rhodius did indeed affirm that among the Tibareni of Pontus, when a woman had been delivered of a child, her husband lay groaning in bed with his head bandaged, while his wife prepared food and baths for him as if he had been the mother.[1] The custom so described is most naturally interpreted as an imitation of childbirth enacted by the husband. But there is no evidence or probability that the poet had seen the ceremony which he describes. It is more likely that he had only heard of it at second hand and misinterpreted it, as many people have misinterpreted similar customs since his time. Again, speaking of the Californian Indians, H. H. Bancroft says that "a curious custom prevails, which is, however, by no means peculiar to California. When child-birth overtakes the wife, the husband puts himself to bed, and there grunting and groaning he affects to suffer all the agonies of a woman in labor. Lying there, he is nursed and tended for some days by the women as carefully as though he were the actual sufferer."[2] In this description the statement that the husband "grunting and groaning affects to suffer all the agonies of a woman in labor" is probably a pure addition of the writer, who compiled his account at second hand and does not pretend to have seen what he describes. Of the two authorities whom he cites in support of his description one at least says nothing about a simulation of childbirth by the husband.[3] Again, in one of the earliest accounts of the custom it is said that as soon as his wife has been delivered of a child, the Carib husband "takes to his bed, complains, and acts like a woman in childbed."[4] And still more emphatically Du Tertre tells us that in these circumstances the Carib husband, "as if the pain of the wife had passed into the husband, begins to

child for the purpose of acquiring those rights over it which had previously been enjoyed by the mother.

"On the Signification of Couvade," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxii. (1893) pp. 204-241; E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. (London, 1895) pp. 400-411. I have made a large collection of evidence on this subject, but must reserve it for another work.

[1] Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, ii. 1011-1014. The expression used by the poet λοετρὰ λεχώϊα, "child-bed baths," clearly implies that in the poet's mind the man was treated as a mother.

[2] H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 391.

[3] M. Venegas, *Natural and Civil History of California* (London, 1759), i. 82. All that Venegas says of the husband is that he "lay in his cave, or stretched out at full length under a tree, affecting to be extremely weak and ill."

[4] "Relation de l'Origine, Moeurs, Coustumes, Religion, Guerres et Voyages des Caraibes Sauvages des Isles Antilles de l'Amerique, faite par le Sieur de la Borde, employé à la Conversion des Caraibes, estant avec le R. P. Simon Jesuite," printed in *Recueil de Divers Voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique, qui n'ont point esté encore publiez* (Paris, 1684), p. 32. De la Borde's full description of the custom (pp. 32-34) agrees closely with that of Du Tertre (see the next note) and may be the original of it. We are not informed when De la Borde served as a missionary among the Caribs and wrote his description of them.

complain and to utter loud cries, just as if the child had been torn from his belly in small pieces."[1] Yet even these expressions may only be the interpretation of the civilised observer; they do not necessarily imply that the father actually pretended to play the part of the mother. This has been rightly remarked by Professor E. B. Tylor, who says with justice: "Nor is there much in these practices which can be construed as a pretence of maternity made by the father."[2]

The supposed pretence of childbirth by the father appears to be a mistake of observers.

Thus no sufficient evidence has been adduced to shew that the couvade involves a simulation of childbirth on the part of the father; the theory that it does so appears to be supported neither by the practice nor by the statements of the natives themselves; it is to all appearance an unwarranted assumption made by civilised persons who misunderstood what they saw or read about. The assumption and the misunderstanding are embodied in the German name for the custom, *das Männerkindbett*.

Moreover, the couvade is practised by people who have mother-kin; how then can it be a transition to father-kin?

But if the couvade, so far as is known, does not imply any pretence of maternity on the part of the father, it can hardly be explained as an attempt to secure for the father under a system of father-kin those rights over the children which had previously been enjoyed by the mother under a system of mother-kin. That explanation appears indeed not only to be unsupported by the facts but actually to conflict with them. For according to it the custom should be found only among peoples who are either passing out of a system of mother-kin or have actually reached a system of father-kin; whereas on the contrary some of the best attested examples of the custom occur among tribes who have mother-kin only. To quote Prof. Tylor again: "Still more adverse to Bachofen's notion, is the fact that these Macusis [who practise the couvade], so far from reckoning the parentage as having been transferred to the father by the couvade, are actually among the tribes who do not reckon kinship on the father's side, the child belonging to the mother's clan. So among the Arawacs, though the father performs the couvade, this does not interfere with the rule that kinship goes by the mother."[3] On the whole, Bachofen's theory that the couvade is a fiction intended to effect a transition from mother-kin to father-

[1] J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amerique* (Paris, 1654), pp. 412-415. This account was afterwards repeated by Du Tertre in his *Histoire Generale des Antilles*, published at Paris in 1667, from which it is commonly quoted by writers on the couvade. The account of the custom given by Rochefort in his *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles*, Seconde Edition (Rotterdam, 1665), was probably copied either from De la Borde or from Du Tertre's earlier work. His language seems to agree more closely with that of De la Borde; thus he uses the same phrase "*faire l'accouche*" "to act like a woman in childbed."

[2] E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, Third Edition (London, 1878), p. 298.

[3] E. B. Tylor, *l.c.*

kin may be safely set aside not only as unproved but as inconsistent with the facts.

The true explanation of the actually observed couvade has been given by Professor E. B. Tylor,[1] and after him by Mr. E. S. Hartland.[2] In fact the custom is merely one of the innumerable cases of sympathetic magic. The father believes that there exists between him and his child a relation of such intimate physical sympathy that whatever he does must simultaneously affect his offspring; for example, if he exerts himself violently, the child will be fatigued; if he eats food that disagrees with him, the child will be sick or have a pain in its stomach; and so on. This is not an hypothesis. It is the actual belief of the savages, avowed by them in the plainest language again and again, and it fully explains the custom. We have no right, therefore, to reject their testimony and to substitute for their explanation another which, far from explaining the facts, is actually contradicted by them.[3] The fact is that what in this custom seems extravagantly absurd to us seems perfectly simple and natural to the savage. The idea that

The customs called couvade are an application of sympathetic magic, based on a supposed physical bond of sympathy between father and child.

[1] E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, Third Edition (London, 1878), pp. 295 *sqq*. He rightly explains the custom by "the opinion that the connexion between father and child is not only, as we think, a mere relation of parentage, affection, duty, but that their very bodies are joined by a physical bond, so that what is done to the one acts directly upon the other" (pp. 295 *sq*.), and he speaks of the couvade being "sympathetic magic" (p. 298). In this work Prof. Tylor justly rejected Bachofen's theory of the couvade, assigning as his reasons for doing so practically the same grounds which I have put forward in the text. But he afterwards changed his mind and accepted Bachofen's view. See E. B. Tylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 254 *sqq*.

[2] E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. 400 *sqq*.

[3] The theory of the couvade as a mark of transition from mother-kin to father-kin has now got into books and through them into the minds of observers, who interpret the facts accordingly. For example Dr. L. A. Waddell, after remarking that the Miris of the Brahmaputra valley are in a transition-stage from the maternal to the paternal form of society, proceeds as follows: "They retain survivals of the maternal stage; but appear only recently to have adopted the paternal. As if to emphasise the change and to show that the father has a direct relation to his child, the father is represented as a second mother and goes through the fiction of a mock-birth, the so-called *couvade*. He lies in bed for forty days, after the birth of his child; and during this period he is fed as an invalid" (L. A. Waddell, "The Tribes of the Brahmaputra Valley," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, lxix. Part iii. Calcutta, 1901, p. 3). In this passage the sentence "the father is represented as a second mother and goes through the fiction of a mock birth" appears to be only Dr. Waddell's interpretation of the actual custom which he describes in the next sentence: "He lies in bed for forty days, after the birth of his child; and during this period he is fed as an invalid." There is nothing in this to justify the description of the custom as "the fiction of a mock birth." Dr. Waddell is indeed right in saying that the custom proves a direct relation of the father to the child; but he appears to be wrong in assuming the relation to be maternal.

Firm belief of savages in sympathetic magic and telepathy.

persons and things act on each other at a distance is as firmly believed by him as the multiplication table or the law of gravitation is by us. Sympathetic magic and telepathy are fundamental axioms of his thinking; he as little doubts them as we doubt that two and two make four or that a stone unsupported will fall to the ground. To him there is nothing extraordinary or exceptional in the physical sympathy between a father and his newborn child; he believes that sympathy of exactly the same kind exists between parted husband and wife, between friends at home and friends far away fishing, hunting, journeying, fighting; and he not only holds the belief in the abstract but acts on it; for by the code of savage morality friends and relations are required so to regulate their conduct that their acts shall not injuriously affect the distant dear ones. Nor is this bond of physical sympathy supposed to exist merely between friends; it equally joins enemies, and the malignant arts of the sorcerer are based on it.[1] All this is the merest commonplace to the savage. The astonishment which customs like the couvade have excited in the mind of civilised man is merely a measure of his profound ignorance of primitive modes of thought. Happily this ignorance is being gradually dissipated by a wider and more exact study of savagery.

Simulation of childbirth for the purpose of relieving a woman of her travail-pangs.

While there is, so far as I am aware, no good evidence that the customs which have been classed under the head of couvade involve a simulation of childbirth practised for the purpose of giving a father power over his children, such curious dramas have certainly been acted by men at childbirth, but with an entirely different intention, namely, for the sake of relieving the real mother of her pangs and transferring them, whether by sympathetic magic or otherwise, to the pretended mother. The following instances will make this clear. Among some of the Dyaks of Sarawak "should any difficulty occur in child delivery the *manangs* or medicine men are called in. One takes charge of the proceedings in the lying-in chamber, the remainder set themselves on the *ruai* or common verandah. The *manang* inside the room wraps a long loop of cloth around the woman, above the womb. A *manang* outside wraps his body around in the same manner, but first places within its fold a large stone corresponding to the position of the child in the mother's womb. A long incantation is then sung by the *manangs* outside, while the one within the room strives with all his power to force the child downwards and so compel delivery. As soon as he has done so, he draws down upon it the loop of cloth and twists it tightly around the mother's body, so as to prevent the upward return of the child. A shout from him proclaims to his

[1] I have illustrated the principles of sympathetic magic, both in its benevolent and in its malevolent aspect, at some length in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 9 *sqq.*

companions on the *ruai* his success, and the *manang* who is for the occasion personating the mother, moves the loop of cloth containing the stone which encircles his own body a stage downwards. And so the matter proceeds until the child is born."[1] Again, in some parts of New Ireland, when a woman is in hard labour and a compassionate man desires to aid her delivery, he does not, as we might expect, repair to the bedchamber of the sufferer; he betakes himself to the men's clubhouse, lies down, feigns to be ill, and writhes in fictitious agony, whenever he hears the shrieks of the woman in childbed. The other men gather round him and make as if they would alleviate his pangs. This kindly meant farce lasts till the child is born.[2]

The simulation of childbirth need not be performed by the father; it may be performed by a stranger or even by an image.

In both these cases there is a deliberate simulation of childbirth for the purpose of facilitating a real birth. In both cases the mode of operation is sympathetic or imitative magic; the desired effect is thought to be brought about by imitating it. But there seems to be this distinction between them that in the first case the immediate object is to hasten the appearance of the child, in the second it is to relieve the woman's pangs by transferring them to the pretended mother. In both cases the pretended mother is a man, but in neither is he the woman's husband. In the one he is a medicine-man hired for the occasion; in the other he is a compassionate neighbour who, touched with pity for the woman's sufferings, tries in the true spirit of chivalry to relieve her by taking her heavy burden on himself. In Borneo an attempt is sometimes made to shift the travail-pains to an image; but the principle is the same. A little wooden figure is carved lying down in a little wooden house; it is supposed to suffer the throes of maternity vicariously.[3]

Sometimes, however, the travail-pains are supposed to be transferred to the woman's husband.

In other cases the same notion of vicarious suffering appears to be applied for the relief of women at the expense of their husbands. Thus in Gujarat there is worshipped a certain Mother Goddess whose power "is exerted in a remarkable way for the benefit of women after childbirth. Among a very low-caste set of basket-makers (called Pomlā) it is the usual practice of a wife to go about her work immediately after delivery, as if nothing had happened. The presiding Mātā of the tribe is supposed to transfer her weakness to her husband, who takes to his bed and has to be supported with good nourishing food."[4] Again, in the Telugu-speaking districts of Southern India there is a wandering tribe of fortune-

[1] F. W. Leggatt, quoted by H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (London, 1896), i. 98 *sq.*

[2] R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee* (Stuttgart, 1907), p. 189.

[3] F. Grabowsky, "Gebräuche der Dajaken Südost-Borneos bei der Geburt," *Globus*, lxxii. (1897) p. 270. One of these figures is now in the Anthropological Museum at Berlin.

[4] Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India* (London, 1883), p. 229.

tellers, swine-herds, and mat-makers called Erukalavandlu. Among them "directly the woman feels the birth-pangs, she informs her husband, who immediately takes some of her clothes, puts them on, places on his forehead the mark which the women usually place on theirs, retires into a dark room, where there is only a very dim lamp, and lies down on the bed, covering himself up with a long cloth. When the child is born, it is washed and placed on the cot beside the father. Assafoetida, *jaggery*, and other articles are then given, not to the mother, but to the father. During the days of ceremonial uncleanness the man is treated as the other Hindus treat their women on such occasions. He is not allowed to leave his bed, but has everything needful brought to him."[1]

This transference of pains to the husband is quite a different custom from what has been called couvade.

This last custom has been cited as an example of the couvade;[2] but it appears to differ in two important respects from the couvade as it is practised in South America. For whereas the South American couvade consists in a certain diet and regimen observed by the father for the sake of his child, the South Indian couvade, if we may call it so, consists apparently in a simulation of childbirth enacted by the husband for the sake of his wife. For in the light of the preceding instances we may reasonably suppose that the intention of the South Indian custom is to relieve the wife by transferring the travail-pains to her husband. If that is so, two such different customs ought not to be confounded under the common name of couvade; and as the name of couvade may now by prescription be fairly claimed for the South American custom, that is, for the strict diet and regimen observed by a father for the sake of his child, another name should be found for the very different South Indian custom, that is, for the pretence of childbirth practised by the husband for the sake of his wife.

In Europe also attempts have often been made to shift the pains of childbirth from the mother to the father. Examples from Ireland.

If any doubt remains in the reader's mind as to whether the South Indian husband who dresses in his wife's clothes at childbirth does so for the purpose of relieving her pains, the doubt will probably be removed by comparing the similar customs still practised in Europe with that expressed intention. Thus in Ireland "there is also a way by which the pains of maternity can be transferred from the woman to her husband. This secret is so jealously guarded that a correspondent in the west of Ireland, who had been asked to investigate the matter, was at last obliged to report: 'In regard to putting the sickness on the father of a child, that is a well-known thing in this country, but after making every inquiry I could not make out how it is done. It is strictly private.' It came out, however, in a chance conversation with a woman who,

[1] *The Indian Antiquary*, iii. (1874) p. 150.

[2] By Mr. H. Ling Roth, "On the Signification of Couvade," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxii. (1893) p. 213; and by Mr. E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), p. 548.

when a child, had once been selected to wait upon a nurse on such an occasion. At a critical moment the nurse 'hunted her out of the room,' and then, taking the husband's vest, she put it upon the sick woman. The child had hid behind the door in the next room and saw the whole operation, but was too far off to hear the words which were probably repeated at the same time. It is asserted by some that the husband's consent must first be obtained, but the general opinion is that he feels all the pain, and even cries out with the agony, without being aware of the cause."[1] The account thus given by Mr. James Mooney, now a distinguished member of the American Bureau of Ethnology, is confirmed by other testimony. Thus the local doctor of Kilkeiran and Carna, in South Connemara, reported in 1892 that a woman occasionally wears the coat of the father of the expected child, "with the idea that he should share in the pains of childbirth";[2] and similarly Dr. C. R. Browne writes that in the counties of Tipperary and Limerick "women in childbirth often wear the trousers of the father of [the] child round the neck, the effect of which is supposed to be the lightening of the pains of labour. I have myself seen a case of this in Dublin, about two years ago."[3]

Attempts to shift the pains of childbirth from the mother to the father in France, Germany, and Esthonia.

Similarly in France, when a woman is in hard labour, it is an old custom to put her husband's trousers on her "in order that she may bring forth without pain";[4] and in Germany also they say that it greatly facilitates a woman's delivery in childbed if she draws on her husband's trousers.[5] Esthonian women have a different way of accomplishing the same object. "In the Werrosch a superstition prevails that a woman can greatly relieve the pains of childbirth by drawing her husband into sympathy and making him a sharer of these sufferings. This is effected in the following way. On the marriage evening she gives him plenty of beer to drink seasoned with wild rosemary (*Ledum palustre*), that he may fall into a deep sleep. While he lies in this narcotic slumber, the woman must creep between his legs without his perceiving it (for if he wakes up, all the good of it is lost), and in that way the poor man gets his share of the future travail-pains." Other Esthonian women seek to transfer their maternal pangs to a cock by killing the bird and pressing it, in the death-agony, to their persons. In that way they believe that they shift the worst of the

[1] James Mooney, "The Medical Mythology of Ireland," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xxiv. (January to June, 1887) No. 125, p. 146.

[2] Quoted by Dr. A. C. Haddon, "A Batch of Irish Folk-lore," *Folk-lore*, iv. (1893) p. 357.

[3] Quoted by Dr. A. C. Haddon, *op. cit.* p. 359.

[4] J. B. Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions* (Paris, 1679), p. 327, "*Quand une femme est en mal d'enfant, luy faire mettre le haut de chausse de son mari, afin qu'elle accouche sans douleur.*"

[5] J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, i. (Göttingen and Leipsic, 1852) p. 251.

pain to the deceased chanticleer, reserving only an insignificant portion of it for themselves.[1] In Scotland similar attempts have been made to shift the pains of parturition to other people, whether men or women, to animals and to things. In the year 1591 a lady named Eufame Macalyane was tried for witchcraft, and among the charges brought against her was that of resorting to enchantments for the purpose of relieving her agonies in childbed. It seems that with this intention she had placed a holed stone under her pillow, had tied a paper of enchanted powder in her hair, and in the actual throes had caused her husband's shirt to be stripped from him, folded, and placed under the foot of the bed. These nefarious practices, we are informed, were so successful that at the birth of her first son her sickness was cast upon a dog, which ran away and was never seen again; and on the birth of her last son her "natural and kindly pain was unnaturally cast upon the wanton cat in the house, whilk likewise was never seen thereafter." However, her judges took good care that she never gave birth to another son; for they burned her alive on the Castle-hill at Edinburgh.[2] Again, when Queen Mary was brought to bed of her son, afterwards James VI., in the Castle of Edinburgh, two other ladies, the Countess of Athole and the Lady Reirres, were in the same condition at the same time in the same place, and Lady Reirres complained "that she was never so troubled with no bairn that ever she bare, for the Lady Athole had cast all the pain of her child-birth upon her."[3] At Langholm in Dumfriesshire in the year 1772 the English traveller Pennant was shewn the place where several witches had suffered in the last century, and he adds: "This reminds me of a very singular belief that prevailed not many years ago in these parts; nothing less than that the midwives had power of transferring part of the primaeval curse bestowed on our great first mother, from the good wife to her husband. I saw the reputed offspring of such a labour; who kindly came into the world without giving her mother the least uneasiness, while the poor husband was roaring with agony in his uncouth and unnatural pains."[4]

Attempts to shift the pains of childbirth from the mother to the father in Scotland.

Thus it appears that attempts to shift the pains of childbirth from the mother to other persons or to animals, but especially to the husband, have been made in many parts of the world, not least of all in Europe. The mode by which the shift is supposed to be effected appears to be a simple application of sympathetic

Such attempts to transfer the pains appear to rest on the principle of

[1] Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), pp. 47 *sq.*

[2] J. G. Dalyell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1834), pp. 130 *sq.*, 133. The quotations in the text are from the official records of the trials. I have modernised the spelling. For other charges against Eufame Macalyane, see *id.* pp. 340-342.

[3] J. G. Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 132.

[4] Thomas Pennant, "A Tour in Scotland, and Voyage to the Hebrides in 1772," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, iii. 211.

magic; and the process belongs to that very numerous class of superstitions which I have called the transference of evil and have illustrated at some length elsewhere.[1] However, in regard to some of the cases it may perhaps be doubted whether the dread of demons and the wish to deceive them has not its share in the transference. Certainly women in childbed are supposed to be peculiarly obnoxious to the machinations of evil spirits, and many are the precautions adopted to repel or outwit these dangerous, though invisible, enemies. It may, therefore, be that the person, whether the husband or another, who dresses or acts as the mother at the critical moment, is merely a dummy put up to draw the fire of the devils, while the real patient steals a march on them by giving birth to the child before they can discover the deceit that has been practised on them and hasten back, with ruffled temper, to the real scene of operations. For example, the Tagals of the Philippines believe that women at childbirth are the prey of two malignant spirits called Patianac and Osuang, who hunt in couples, one of them appearing as a dwarf, the other as a dog, a cat, or a bird. To protect women in their hour of need against these dreaded foes the people resort sometimes to craft, sometimes to intimidation, and sometimes to sheer physical force. Thus they bung up the doors and windows to prevent the ingress of the devils, till the poor patient is nearly stifled with heat and stench. They light fires all round the hut; they stuff mortar-pieces with powder to the muzzle and let them off again and again in the immediate neighbourhood of the sufferer; and the husband, stark naked and armed to the teeth, mounts the roof and there hews and slashes in the air like a man demented, while his sympathising friends, similarly equipped with swords, spears, and shields, and taking their time from him, attack the demons with such murderous fury, laying about them not only all round the house, but also underneath it (for the houses are raised on posts), that it is a chance if the poor devils escape with a whole skin from the cataract of cuts and thrusts. These are strong measures. Yet they do not exhaust the resources of the Tagals in their dealings with the unseen. Sometimes their mind misgives them that the expectant mother may not be wholly safe even within a ring of blazing fires and flashing swords; so to put her out of harm's way, when the pains begin, they will sometimes carry the sufferer softly into another house, where the devils, they hope, will not be able to find her.[2]

sympathetic magic. But it is possible that a wish to deceive the demons who are supposed to harass women in childbed may also count for something in them.

For the same purpose the nomadic Turks of Central Asia beat

[1] *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, iii. 1-134.

[2] F. Blumentritt, "Der Ahnencultus und die religiösen Anschauungen der Malaien des Philippinen-Archipels," *Mittheilungen der Wiener geographischen Gesellschaft*, 1882, pp. 178 *sq.*

Protecting women in childbed from demons.

with sticks on the outside of a tent where a woman lies in childbed, and they shriek, howl, and fire off their guns continually to drive away the demon who is tormenting her. If the pains still continue after the child is born, they resort to a number of devices for putting an end to them. Thus they cause a horse with large bright eyes to touch the bosom of the sufferer in order to repel the devil, and for the same purpose they bring an owl into the tent and oblige it to hoot, or they put a bird of prey on her breast. Sometimes they pepper the woman with gooseberries, in the hope that the devil will stick to them and so drop off from her, or they burn the berries for the purpose of chasing him away with the foul smell. And for a like reason they bury a sword in the ground, edge upwards, under the place where the poor suffering head is lying; or a bard rushes into the tent and beats the woman lightly with a stick under the impression that the blows fall not on her but on the devil.[1]

Similar examples of attempts to relieve women in childbed by repelling or outwitting the evil spirits which are supposed to infest them at these critical times might be multiplied almost indefinitely. It is possible that such superstitions have played a part in the customs which are commonly grouped under the head of couvade.[2] But there seems to be no positive evidence that this is so; and in the absence of proof it is better perhaps to regard the pretence of childbirth by another person, whether the husband or another, as a simple case of the world-wide transference of evil by means of sympathetic magic.

Results of discussion.

To sum up the results of the preceding discussion, which I hope to resume with far ampler materials in another work, I conclude that:—

1. Under the name of couvade two quite distinct customs have commonly been confounded.

1. Under the general name of couvade two quite distinct customs, both connected with childbirth, have been commonly confounded. One of these customs consists of a strict diet and regimen observed by a father for the benefit of his newborn child, because the father is believed to be united to the child by such an intimate bond of physical sympathy that all his acts affect and may hurt or kill the tender infant. The other custom consists of a simulation of childbirth by a man, generally perhaps by the husband, practised for the benefit of the real mother, in order to relieve her of her pains by transferring them to the pretended mother. The difference between these customs in kind is obvious, and in accordance with their different intentions they are commonly observed at different times. The simulation of travail-pangs takes place simultaneously with the real pangs before the child is born. The

[1] H. Vambery, *Das Türkenvolk* (Leipsic, 1885), pp. 213 *sq.*

[2] This was the view of Adolph Bastian. He thought that the husband's keeping his bed was a trick played on the guileless devil, who mistook him for the real patient. See A. Bastian, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador* (Bremen, 1859), pp. 194-196.

strict diet and regimen of the father begin only after the child is born; for it is only then that he betakes himself to his bed and subjects himself to the full rigour of his superstitious abstinences, though he has often for similar reasons to regulate his conduct during his wife's pregnancy by many other rules which a civilised man would find sufficiently burdensome. It is strange that two customs so different in their intention and in the manner and time of their observance should have been confounded under the common name of couvade. If, however, writers on these subjects prefer to retain the one name for the two things, they should at least distinguish the two things by specific epithets attached to the generic name. One, for example, might be called the prenatal and the other the post-natal couvade on the ground of the different times at which they are observed; or the one might be called the dietetic couvade and the other the pseudo-maternal couvade on the ground of the different modes in which they are performed.

2. Both customs are founded on the principle of sympathetic magic, though on different branches of it. The post-natal or dietetic couvade is founded on that branch of sympathetic magic which may be called contagious, because in it the effect is supposed to be produced by contact, real or imaginary. In this case the imaginary contact exists between father and child. The prenatal or pseudo-maternal couvade is founded on that branch of sympathetic magic which may be called homoeopathic or imitative, because in it the effect is supposed to be produced by imitation.[1] In this case the imitation is that of childbirth enacted by the father or somebody else.

2. Both customs are founded on sympathetic magic.

3. Neither the one custom nor the other, neither prenatal or dietetic couvade, nor post-natal or pseudo-maternal couvade, appears to have anything to do with an attempt to shift the custom of descent from the maternal to the paternal line, in other words, to initiate the change from mother-kin to father-kin.

3. Neither custom has anything to do with a change from mother-kin to father-kin.

P. 73. **The apparently widespread custom of men dressing as women and women as men at marriage.**—On their wedding night Spartan brides were dressed in men's clothes when they received the bridegroom on the marriage bed.[2] Amongst the Egyptian Jews in the time of Maimonides the bridegroom was adorned as a woman and wore a woman's garments, while the bride with a helmet on her head and a sword in her hand led the wedding dance.[3] In some Brahman families of Southern India at marriage the bride is disguised as a boy and another girl is dressed up to represent the bride.[4] In the elaborate marriage ceremonies observed by the

Exchange of clothes between bride and bridegroom at marriage.

[1] As to sympathetic magic and its two branches see further my *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship* (London, 1905), pp. 37 *sqq.*

[2] Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 15.

[3] Sepp, *Altbayerischer Sagenschatz* (Munich, 1876), p. 232.

[4] E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India* (Madras, 1906), p. 3.

people of Southern Celebes the bridegroom at one stage of the proceedings puts on the garments which have just been put off by the bride.[1]

Exchange of clothes between men and women (other than the bridegroom and bride) at marriage.

Sometimes it is not the principals but the assistants at a marriage who appear disguised in the costume of the other sex. Thus among the Wasambara of East Africa the chief bridesmaid is dressed as a man and carries a sword and a gun.[2] Among the western Somali tribes, while the bride and bridegroom are shut up in the nuptial chamber, seven young bachelors and seven maidens assemble in the house. A man appointed for the purpose performs a mock marriage over these young people, wedding them in pairs, and the mock wife must obey the mock husband. Sometimes the couples exchange garments, the young men dressing as women and the young women as men. "The girls dress up their partners, using padding to make the disguise as complete as possible; and then, assuming all the airs of husbands, they flog their partners with horsewhips, and order them about in the same manner as they themselves had been treated by the young men." These frolics last seven days, at the end of which the seven bachelors and the seven maids are paid a dollar a head by the bridegroom and the bride.[3] In Torwal, of the Hindo Koosh, the bridegroom's party is accompanied by men dressed as women, who dance and jest, and the whole village takes part in the entertainment of the bridegroom's friends.[4] At a Hindoo wedding in Bihar a man disguised as a woman approaches the marriage party with a jar of water and says that he is a woman of Assam come to give away the bride.[5] Among the Chamars and other low castes of Northern India boys at marriage dress up as women and perform a rude and sometimes unseemly dance. Among the Modh Brahmans of Gujarat at a wedding the bridegroom's maternal uncle dresses himself up as a Jhanda or Pathan fakir, whose ghost is dangerous, in woman's clothes from head to waist and in men's clothes from the waist downwards, rubs his face with oil, daubs it with red powder, and in this impressive costume accompanies the bridal pair to a spot where two roads meet, which is always haunted ground, and there he waits till the couple offer food to the goddess of the place.[6] Similar exchanges of costume between men and women are practised

[1] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes* (The Hague, 1875), p. 35.

[2] J. P. Farler, "The Usambara Country, in East Africa," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, New Series, i. (1879) p. 92.

[3] Captain J. S. King, "Notes on the Folk-lore and some Social Customs of the Western Somali Tribes," *The Folk-lore Journal*, vi. (1888) pp. 121 *sq.*

[4] Major J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh* (Calcutta, 1880), p. 80; compare *id.* p. 78.

[5] G. A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* (Calcutta, 1885), p. 365.

[6] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 8.

at marriage in various parts of Europe. At Kukus in Bulgaria a girl puts on the bridegroom's robes, claps a fez on her head, and thus disguised as a man leads the wedding dance.[1] Sometimes in Upper Brittany on the day after a wedding young men disguise themselves as girls and girls disguise themselves as young men.[2] In the Samerberg district of Bavaria a bearded man in woman's clothes is palmed off as the bride on the bridegroom; he is known as "the Wild Bride."[3] Similarly at an Esthonian wedding the bride's brother, or some other young man, dresses up in woman's garments and tries to pass himself off on the bridegroom as the bride;[4] and it is an Esthonian marriage custom to place the bridegroom's hat on the head of the bride.[5]

The most probable explanation of these interchanges of costume between men and women at marriage is that they are disguises intended to protect bride and bridegroom from the demons who lie in wait for them.

What is the meaning of these curious interchanges of costume between men and women at marriage? In the text I have suggested that the pretended exchange of sex between the bridegroom and the bride may have been designed to give the husband those rights over the children which had formerly been possessed by the wife, in other words, that the intention was to effect a transition from an old system of mother-kin to a new system of father-kin. This explanation might perhaps suffice for the cases in which the disguise is confined to the married couple, but it could hardly apply to the cases in which the disguise is worn by other persons. And the same may be said of another suggested explanation, namely, that the dressing of the bride in male attire is a charm to secure the birth of male offspring,[6] for that would not account for the disguise of the bridegroom as a woman nor for the exchange of costume between men and women other than the bridegroom and bride. On the whole the most probable explanation of these disguises at marriage is that they are intended to deceive the malignant and envious spirits who lie in wait for the happy pair at this season. For this theory would explain the assumption of male or female costume, especially the costume of the bridegroom or bride, by other persons than the principals at the ceremony. Persons so disguised may be supposed to serve as dummies to attract the attention of the demons and so allow the real bride and bridegroom to escape unnoticed. This is in substance the theory of Mr. W. Crooke, who conjectures that "some one

[1] F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven* (Vienna, 1885), p. 438.

[2] P. Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne* (Paris, 1886), p. 138.

[3] Von Düringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch* (Leipsic, 1871), p. 126.

[4] L. von Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsbräuche der Esten* (Berlin, 1888), p. 218; compare *id.* p. 220.

[5] L. von Schroeder, *op. cit.* pp. 95 *sq.*

[6] *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition (London, 1907), p. 434. I now see that the same motive for dressing women as men at marriage had previously been suggested by the Hon. J. Abercromby. See his article, "An Amazonian Custom in the Caucasus," *Folk-Lore*, ii. (1891) pp. 179-181.

assumes the part of the bride in order to divert on himself from her the envious glance of the Evil Eye."[1] He points out very justly that this theory would explain the common European custom known as the False Bride, which consists of an attempt to palm off on the bridegroom some one else, whether a man or a woman, disguised so as to resemble the bride.[2] The Somali custom, described above,[3] lends itself particularly to this explanation; for the seven mock-married couples who keep up the pretence of marriage for seven days after the wedding may very well, quite apart from the interchange of clothes between them, be designed to divert the attention of malignant spirits from the real bride and bridegroom, who are actually closeted with each other in the bridal chamber. That they are believed to render a service to the married pair is manifest, for they are paid by the bride and bridegroom for what they have done at the end of the seven days. The payment of mock-married pairs would be superfluous and meaningless if their performance was nothing more than an outburst of youthful gaiety on a festive occasion. Further, this explanation of the interchange of dress between the sexes at marriage is confirmed, as Mr. Crooke has pointed out, by the parallel custom of disguising young boys as girls; for the intention of this last custom appears unquestionably to be to avert the Evil Eye.[4] But the exchange of dress between men and women is a custom which has been practised under many different circumstances and probably from many different motives.[5]

Custom of the False Bride.

P. 73. **In Central [rather Eastern] Africa a Masai dresses as a girl for a month after marriage.**—On this subject Mr. A. C. Hollis, one of our best authorities on the Masai, writes to me as follows; "The Masai do not dress as girls a month before marriage, as stated by Thomson, but Masai boys dress as women for a month immediately after circumcision. A similar custom is followed by the Kikuyu and by the Nandi-Lumbwa group. Amongst the latter group girls when about to be circumcised dress as warriors." The custom in regard to Masai boys is this. When they have been circumcised they are called Sipolio (recluse). "They remain at home for four days, and bows are prepared for them. They then sally forth and shoot at the young girls, their arrows being blocked with a piece of honey-comb so that they cannot penetrate into the girls' bodies. They also shoot

Masai lads dressed as girls after circumcision.

[1] W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore in Northern India* (Westminster, 1896), ii. 8.

[2] W. Crooke, *l.c.* As to the custom, compare Miss Gertrude M. Godden, "The False Bride," *Folk-Lore*, iv. (1893) pp. 142-148.

[3] See above, p. 256.

[4] W. Crooke, *op. cit.* ii. 8. As to the widespread custom of dressing boys as girls, see my article "Achilles at Scyros," *The Classical Review*, vii. (1893) pp. 292 *sq.*

[5] I have dealt with some particular cases of the custom in my *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Second Edition, pp. 428-434.

small birds, which they wear round their heads together with ostrich feathers. The Sipolio like to appear as women and wear *surutya* earrings and garments reaching to the ground. They also paint their faces with chalk. When they have all recovered, they are shaved again and become Il-barnot (the shaved ones). They then discard the long garments and wear warriors' skins and ornaments. After this their hair is allowed to grow, and as soon as it has grown long enough to plait, they are called Il-muran (warriors)."[1]

Ceremonies in the seventh month of pregnancy.

P. 73. **The transference of the child to the father's clan may be the object of a ceremony observed by the Todas.**—The ceremony in question has been described more fully in another part of this book.[2] There is little or nothing in it to favour the view that its intention is to transfer the child to the father's clan. As an alternative theory I have suggested that the ceremony may be designed to fertilise or impregnate the woman.[3] To this explanation of the custom it may reasonably be objected that being observed in the seventh month of pregnancy the ceremony is too late to be regarded as one of impregnation, since indeed many children are born in that month. This objection tells forcibly and perhaps fatally against the theory in question. Ceremonies have commonly been observed in the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy by other peoples besides the Todas, but their intention seems to be to ensure a safe delivery, whether by keeping off demons, by manipulating the woman's body, or in other ways.[4] In Java a curious feature of the ceremonies on this occasion is a mock birth carried out on the person of the pregnant woman. The part of the baby is played by a weaver's shuttle and that of the afterbirth by an egg. When the shuttle drops to the ground, an old woman takes it up in her arms, dandles it like a baby, and says, "Oh, what a dear little child! Oh, what a beautiful little child!"[5]

[1] A. C. Hollis, *The Masai* (Oxford, 1905), p. 298.

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 256 *sqq.* The ceremony has also been described by Mr. J. W. Breeks, in his *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris* (London, 1873), p. 19. His account is less detailed than the one in the text but agrees substantially with it.

[3] Above, vol. ii. pp. 258 *sqq.*

[4] For examples of these ceremonies see Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne, traduite par D. Jourdanet et R. Simeon* (Paris, 1880), pp. 424-431; *The Grihya-Sutras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, Part i. (Oxford, 1886) pp. 47 *sqq.* (*Sacred Books of the East*, xxix.); S. Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore* (London, 1883), pp. 48, 113, 118 *sq.*; Jagor, "Einige Sklaven-Kasten in Malabar," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie, und Urgeschichte, 1878*, p. 239 (appended to the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x.); B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes* (The Hague, 1875), pp. 48 *sqq.*; "De Leenvorstendom Boni," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xv. (1865) pp. 57 *sq.*; T. Stamford Raffles, *History of Java* (London, 1817), i. 316, 322 *sq.*

[5] See the description of the custom in *The Golden Bough*, Second Edition, i. 20. To the authorities

Manifestly this little drama is intended to facilitate the real birth by simulating it; the ceremony is an example of sympathetic or imitative magic.

Badaga ceremony in the seventh month of pregnancy.

In the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy the Badagas of the Neilgherry Hills observe a ceremony which has been described as a second marriage ceremony in confirmation of the first. The husband asks his father-in-law, "Shall I bind this cord round the neck of your daughter?" As soon as "Yes" is said, the cord is fastened round her neck and then after a few minutes taken off. Before the couple are set two vessels, into one of which the relations of the husband put money, while the relations of the wife put it into the other. A feast of milk and vegetables follows.[1] It is possible, therefore, that the ceremony observed by the Todas in the seventh month of pregnancy is also an old marriage ceremony, as Dr. Rivers has suggested;[2] and if that were so the interpretation of it as a rite of impregnation would not be wholly excluded.

Cannibalism in Australia.

P. 73. **As a rule, perhaps, members of the same totem clan do not eat each other.**—Definite information on this subject seems to be almost entirely wanting, so that no general rule can be laid down. In the Mukjarawaint tribe of Victoria a man who transgressed the marriage laws was killed and eaten by men of his own totemic clan.[3] But this is the only case I remember to have met with in which it is definitely affirmed that people ate a man of their own totem. On the other hand there seems to be little or no evidence that they were forbidden to do so. It was a common custom among the Australian aborigines to eat the members of their own tribe who were either slain in battle or died a natural death. And, besides that, in times of famine children were often killed and devoured by their relations and friends. Enemies killed in war were eaten by some tribes, but the practice of eating friends and relations appears to have been more frequent; indeed it is affirmed of some tribes that while they ate their friends they refused to eat their enemies.[4] In the

Both friends and foes are eaten, but the custom of eating friends seems to be the commoner.

there cited may be added C. F. Winter, "Instellingen, Gewoonten en Gebruiken der Javanen te Soerakarta," *Tijdschrift voor Nêerlands Indie* (Batavia, 1843), Eerste Deel, pp. 691-694; J. Knebel, "Varia Javanica," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xliv. (1901) p. 36. In the former of these accounts the places of the shuttle and the egg are taken by two coco-nuts; in the latter account the simulation of birth does not come clearly out.

[1] Jagor, "Über die Badagas im Nilgiri-Gebirge," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1876*, pp. 200 *sq.* (appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, viii.).

[2] See above, vol. ii. p. 258.

[3] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 247. See above, vol. i. p. 461.

[4] J. D. Lang, *Queensland* (London, 1861), pp. 354-360, 388 *sq.*; R. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. xxxvii. *sq.*, 244-247; J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 67; W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi*, p. 160; R. Schomburgk, in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1879*, p. (237)

Binbinga tribe, who eat their dead, the body is cut up, roasted and eaten by men of the other exogamous class or moiety. For example, if the deceased was a Tjurulum man, his carcase is devoured by Tjuanaku, Tjulantjuka, Paliarinji, and Pungarinji men, who together make up that moiety of the tribe to which the Tjurulum subclass does not belong. No woman of the tribe is allowed to partake of human flesh.[1] In the Mara and Anula tribes the flesh may be eaten by members of both the exogamous classes or moieties. "In the case of an Anula woman, whose body was eaten a short time ago, the following took place. The woman belonged to the Wialia division of the tribe, and her body was disembowelled by a Roumburia man. Those present during the rite and participating in it were four in number; two of them were her tribal fathers, belonging therefore to the Wialia group—that is, to her own moiety of the tribe; the other two were her mother's brothers, and therefore Roumburia men belonging to the half of the tribe to which she did not belong. The woman's totem was Barramunda (a fresh-water fish); the tribal fathers', wild dog; the mother's two brothers were respectively alligator and night-hawk; so that it will be clearly seen that the rite of eating the flesh of a dead person is in no way concerned with the totem group. In another instance—that of the eating of an Anula man who was a Roumburia—the body was disembowelled by an Urtalia man who was the mother's brother of the deceased; the other men present and participating were one Wialia, two Urtalia, and one Awukaria."[2] Hence in neither of the cases thus described by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen was the flesh of the dead partaken of by persons of his or her own totem clan. Whether this exclusion of persons of the same totem from the cannibal repast was accidental or prescribed by custom, does not appear.

Motives of the Australian aborigines for eating their dead friends.

The motives which induce the members of an Australian tribe to eat the bodies of their own dead are various. Often the motive is sheer hunger, and under the pressure of this powerful incentive it would seem that infants are commonly the first victims. We are told that in hard summers the Kaura tribe near Adelaide used to

(appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xi.); E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 89, 290, 370, 380, 422, ii. 18, 119, 159, 179, 322, 331 *sq.*, 341 *sq.*, 346, 351, 361, 371, 376, 390, 393, 400, 403, 404, 408, 427, 428, 432, 449, 465, 474, iii. 36, 121, 138, 144, 147, 159, 166, 353, 545; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 166; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 750-756. For statements that friends but not foes are eaten see J. D. Lang, *op. cit.* p. 359; J. Dawson and W. Ridley, *ll.cc.*; E. M. Curr, *op. cit.* ii. 449; A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 753.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 548. As to the classes and subclasses of the Binbinga tribe, see above, vol. i. p. 269.

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.* pp. 548 *sq.* As to the classes and subclasses of the Anula tribe, see above, vol. i. p. 271.

devour all the new-born infants.[1] The Mungerra tribe in Queensland, when sorely pinched by famine, have been known to kill and eat some of their female children.[2] Sometimes the motive assigned for the practice is affection. Thus among the tribes on Moreton Bay in New South Wales it is said to have been customary for parents to partake of the flesh of their dead children "as a token of grief and affection for the deceased."[3] The well-informed Mr. James Dawson, speaking of the tribes of South-West Victoria, says: "There is not the slightest doubt that the eating of human flesh is practised by the aborigines, but only as a mark of affectionate respect, in solemn service of mourning for the dead. The flesh of enemies is never eaten, nor of members of other tribes. The bodies of relatives of either sex, who have lost their lives by violence, are alone partaken of; and even then only if the body is not mangled, or unhealthy, or in poor condition, or in a putrid state. The body is divided among the adult relatives—with the exception of nursing or pregnant women—and the flesh of every part is roasted and eaten but the vitals and intestines, which are burned with the bones. If the body be much contused, or if it have been pierced by more than three spears, it is considered too much mangled to be eaten. The body of a woman who has had children is not eaten. When a child over four or five years of age is killed accidentally, or by one spear wound only, all the relatives eat of it except the brothers and sisters. The flesh of a healthy, fat, young woman is considered the best; and the palms of the hands are considered the most delicate portions. On remarking to the aborigines that the eating of the whole of the flesh of a dead body by the relatives had the appearance of their making a meal of it, they said that an ordinary-sized body afforded to each of numerous adult relatives only a mere tasting; and that it was eaten with no desire to gratify or appease the appetite, but only as a symbol of respect and regret for the dead."[4] Evidence to the same effect was given by a convict Davies as to some Queensland tribes with whom he had lived. He said that with the exception of the bodies of old people the dead were regularly eaten by the survivors, whether they had fallen in battle or died a natural death; it was an immemorial custom and a sacred duty with them to devour the corpses of their departed relatives and friends; but their enemies slain in battle they would not eat.[5] The Tangara carry their dead about with them, and whenever they feel sorrow for their death, they eat some of the flesh, till nothing remains but the

Sometimes the Australian aborigines eat their dead kinsfolk from motives of respect and affection.

[1] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 749.

[2] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 465; compare *id.* p. 351.

[3] G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, i. 73.

[4] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 67.

[5] J. D. Lang, *Queensland* (London, 1861), pp. 355, 359 *sq.*

bones.[1] When a child dies, the aborigines of the Peake River in South Australia eat it, saying that unless they did so they would always grieve for it. They give the head to the mother, and the children in the camp also get some of the flesh to make them grow. They also eat different parts of men and women who die, particularly those parts in which their best abilities are supposed to reside.[2] Some of the Kamilaroi placed their dead in trees, kindled fires under them, and sat down to catch the droppings of the fat, hoping thus to acquire the courage and strength, for example, of the deceased warrior. Others ate the heart and liver of their dead for the same purpose. They did not eat enemies slain in battle.[3] Sometimes parents would kill their newborn baby and give its flesh to their older children to eat for the purpose of strengthening them. This was done, for example, in the Wotjobaluk and Luritcha tribes.[4] Among some of the tribes on the Darling River, before a body was buried it used to be customary to cut off a piece of flesh from the thigh, if it was a child, or from the stomach, if it was an adult. The severed flesh was then taken from the grave to the camp, dried in the sun, chopped up small, and distributed among the relations and friends of the deceased. Some of them used the gobbet to make a charm called *yountoo*; others sucked it to get strength and courage; and others again threw it into the river to bring a flood and fish, when both were wanted.[5]

Practice of the Dieri as to eating their dead relations.

Amongst the Dieri, when a dead body had been lowered into its last resting-place, a man, who was no relation of the deceased, stepped into the grave and proceeded to cut off all the fat that adhered to the muscles of the face, thighs, arms and stomach. This he handed round to the mourners to be swallowed by them. The reason they gave for the practice was that the nearest relations might forget the departed and not be continually weeping. "The order in which they partake of their dead relatives is this:—The mother eats of her children. The children eat of their mother. Brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law eat of each other. Uncles, aunts, nephews, nieces, grandchildren, grandfathers, and grandmothers eat of each other. But the father does not eat of his offspring, or the

[1] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 751.

[2] R. Schomburgk (of Adelaide), "Über einige Sitten und Gebräuche der tief im innern Südaustraliens, am Peake-Flusse und dessen Umgebung hausenden Stämme," *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1879*, p. (237) (appended to *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xi.).

[3] Rev. W. Ridley, *Kamilaroi* (Sydney, 1875), p. 160.

[4] W. E. Stanbridge, "Tribes in the Central Part of Victoria," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, i. (London, 1861) p. 289; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 749, 750; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 475.

[5] F. Bonney, "On some Customs of the Aborigines of the River Darling, New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884) pp. 134, 135.

offspring of the sire. After eating of the dead the men paint themselves with charcoal and fat, marking a black ring round the mouth. This distinguishing mark is called *Munamuroomuroo*. The women do likewise, besides painting two white stripes on their arms, which marks distinguish those who have partaken of the late deceased; the other men smearing themselves all over with white clay, to testify their grief."[1] Thus in the Dieri tribe women as well as men partook of the bodies of the dead. However, in some tribes women were forbidden to eat human flesh.[2]

Custom of eating dead enemies.

Among the Australian tribes which ate their slain enemies the favourite joints seem to have been the arms and the legs, the hands and the feet.[3] The Theddora and Ngarigo thought that they acquired the courage and other qualities of the enemies whom they had eaten.[4] The Luritcha, who eat their enemies, take great care to destroy the bones and especially the skulls; otherwise they think that the bones will come together, and that the dead men will arise and pursue with their vengeance the foes who have devoured them.[5]

Although exogamous classes or phratries sometimes bear animal names, they seem not to be totemic.

P. 76. **Some phratries, both in America and Australia, bear the names of animals.**—From this and other indications I have inferred in the text that the Australian phratries and subphratries (classes and subclasses) were formerly totemic clans, and that as phratries and subphratries (classes and subclasses) they may have retained their totems after they had been subdivided into totem clans proper. The evidence now seems to me altogether inadequate to support this inference, which I withdraw accordingly. In this view I entirely agree with the mature judgment of Dr. A. W. Howitt, who in like manner had formerly inclined to the opinion that the phratries or classes may once have been totemic clans.[6] On the

[1] S. Gason, "The Dieyeri Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 274. Compare A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 448 *sq.*, 751.

[2] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 179, 332; Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 548. It has been suggested by Mr. E. S. Hartland (*Primitive Paternity*, i. 231 *sq.*) that one motive for eating dead friends may have been to ensure their rebirth. This motive could hardly operate in tribes which forbid women to partake of human flesh.

[3] A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 751, 752; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 545.

[4] A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 752.

[5] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 475.

[6] Dr. A. W. Howitt writes thus (*Folk-Lore*, xvii. 1906, p. 110): "Mr. Hartland quotes a passage in one of my earlier papers to the effect that in my opinion the exogamous moieties of the Australian tribes were originally totem clans. I did incline, many years back, to this belief, but the wider knowledge of later years has so far altered my opinion, that I consider the weight of evidence to be against it." With regard to the Port Mackay tribe in Queensland (see vol. i. pp. 77 *sq.*) the evidence for the existence of phratric and subphratric totems seems altogether insufficient. The evidence for the phratric totems consists of a single statement of Mr. Bridgman that "the symbol of the Yoongaroo division is the alligator and of the Wootaroo the kangaroo" (Fison

whole the Australian evidence points to the conclusion that the phratries and subphratries, or classes and subclasses, are social divisions of an entirely different order from the totemic clans. As I have already pointed out, they seem to be of later origin than the totemic clans and to have been deliberately instituted for the purpose of regulating marriage, with which the totemic clans had previously nothing to do.[1] When the exogamous divisions were introduced, it was convenient, though not absolutely necessary, to have names for them;[2] and these names would naturally be significant of something, for it is very unlikely that they would be new words arbitrarily coined for the purpose. Among them the names of animals and plants would probably figure, since on animals and plants, the sources of their food-supply, the minds of the natives are constantly dwelling. It is no wonder, therefore, that the names of some Australian phratries or classes should be those of animals; the wonder rather is that among so many Australian names of phratries or classes so few should be known to be those of animals. But the mere designation of such divisions by the names of animals by no means proves that the eponymous animals are totems. A special reason for naming any particular phratry after an animal or plant might very well be, as has been suggested by Dr. Washington Matthews,[3] the existence within it of an important totemic clan of that name; the phratry or class would thus be named after one of its members, the whole after the part, as happens not infrequently. Thus the inference that, whenever we meet with a phratry or class bearing the same name as one of its totemic clans, the clan has arisen by subdivision of the phratry and has taken its name from it, is not necessarily right; it may be on the contrary that the phratry or class has borrowed its name from the clan. Another way in which phratries or classes might come to bear the names of animals and so to simulate totemic clans may be, as Professor Baldwin Spencer has suggested, through the extinction of all the totems except two, one in each of the phratries or classes, so that henceforth the totemic clan would coincide with the phratry or class. This, as he says, may have happened to the Wurunjerri tribe.[4] In point of fact, both in North-Central Australia and in

Sometimes the animal name of an exogamous class or phratry may be borrowed from one of the totemic clans included under it.

and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 40); and the evidence for the totems of the subphratries in like manner rests on the single statement of Mr. W. Chatfield (Fison and Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 41), whose evidence on another subject has been doubted by good authorities. See above, p. 199. Mr. Chatfield's statement is repeated by Mr. E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 468.

[1] See above, vol. i. 162 *sq.*, 251 *sq.*, 257 *sqq.*, 272 *sqq.*

[2] I have already pointed out that both in Australia and Melanesia some of the exogamous divisions have no special names. See above, vol. i. pp. 265 *sq.*; vol. ii. p. 70.

[3] See above, vol. ii. pp. 243 *sq.*

[4] Prof. Baldwin Spencer's suggestion is mentioned by Dr. A. W. Howitt in *Folk-Lore*, xvii. (1906) p. 110. As to the Wurunjerri tribe, see above, vol. i. pp. 435, 437.

Queensland we have found evidence of the extinction of the totemic clans and their absorption in the exogamous classes or phratries, with the accompanying transference of the old totemic taboos from the clans to the classes.[1]

P. 81. **The growth, maturity, and decay of totems.**—The theory here suggested of the growth and decay of totems must be corrected by the preceding note, in which I have pointed out that there is no sufficient proof of the existence of phratric and subphratric totems. Nor is it at all clear that subtotems are undeveloped totems; indeed the relation between the two things is very obscure. Subtotems are found elsewhere than in Australia,[2] but it is only in Australia, apparently, that an attempt has been made to classify the whole of nature under the exogamous phratries or clans.

The Central Australian aborigines, like all existing savages, are primitive only in a relative, not in an absolute, sense.

P. 93. **Here, then, . . . the scientific inquirer might reasonably expect to find the savage in his very lowest depths, etc.**—In this somewhat too rhetorically coloured passage I do not intend to suggest that the Central Australian aborigines are in the condition of absolutely primitive humanity. Far from it. I believe that even the lowest of existing savages, amongst whom I reckon the tribes of Central Australia, have in respect of intelligence, morality, and the arts of life advanced immeasurably beyond the absolutely primitive condition of humanity, and that the interval which divides them from civilised men is probably far less than the interval which divides them from truly primitive men, that is, from men as they were when they emerged from a much lower form of animal life. It is only in a relative, not in an absolute, sense that we can speak of the Australian or of any other known race as primitive; but the usage of the language perfectly justifies us in employing the word in such a sense to distinguish the ruder from the more highly developed races of man. Indeed we have no synonym for the word in English, and if we drop it in deference to an absurd misunderstanding we cripple ourselves by the sacrifice of an indispensable term. Were we to abstain from using every word which dunces have misunderstood or sophists misrepresented, we should be reduced to absolute silence, for there is hardly a word which has not been thus perverted.[3]

P. 96. **An immemorial sanctuary within which outlawed and**

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 527 *sq.*

[2] For example, see above, vol. ii. pp. 14-16, 30 *sq.*, 48 *sq.*

[3] On the use and abuse of the term primitive as applied to savages I may refer the reader to my remarks in *The Scope of Social Anthropology* (London, 1908), pp. 7-9. In the present work I have already given my reasons for regarding the tribes of Central Australia as, on the whole, not only the most primitive savages of that continent but also as the most primitive race of men about whom we possess accurate information. See above, vol. i. pp. 314-339, 342 *sq.*

desperate men have found safety.—Since this sketch of the development of sanctuaries or asylums in primitive society was written, the subject has been handled by Dr. Albert Hellwig in two treatises, to which I may refer the reader for further details.[1]

P. 97. **In Upolu, one of the Samoan Islands, etc.**—The right of sanctuary seems to have been more highly developed in Hawaii, where there were certain sacred enclosures called *puhonuas*, which have been described as Cities of Refuge. "These *puhonuas*," we are told, "were the Hawaiian cities of refuge, and afforded an inviolable sanctuary to the guilty fugitive who, when flying from the avenging spear, was so favoured as to enter their precincts. This had several wide entrances, some on the side next the sea, the others facing the mountains. Hither the manslayer, the man who had broken a tabu, or failed in the observance of its rigid requirements, the thief, and even the murderer, fled from his incensed pursuers, and was secure. To whomsoever he belonged, and from whatever part he came, he was equally certain of admittance, though liable to be pursued even to the gates of the enclosure. Happily for him, those gates were perpetually open; and as soon as the fugitive had entered, he repaired to the presence of the idol, and made a short ejaculatory address, expressive of his obligations to him in reaching the place with security. Whenever war was proclaimed, and during the period of actual hostilities, a white flag was unfurled on the top of a tall spear, at each end of the enclosure, and, until the conclusion of peace, waved the symbol of hope to those who, vanquished in fight, might flee thither for protection. It was fixed a short distance from the walls on the outside, and to the spot on which this banner was unfurled, the victorious warrior might chase his routed foes; but here, he must himself fall back; beyond it he must not advance one step, on pain of forfeiting his life. The priests, and their adherents, would immediately put to death any one who should have the temerity to follow or molest those who were once within the pale of the *pahu tabu* [sacred enclosure]; and, as they expressed it, under the shade or protection of Keave, the tutelar deity of the place. In one part of the enclosure, houses were formerly erected for the priests, and others for the refugees, who, after a certain time, or at the cessation of war, were dismissed by the priests, and returned unmolested to their dwellings and families; no one venturing to injure those who, when they fled to the gods, had been by them protected. We could not learn the length of time it was necessary for them to remain in the *puhonua*; but it did not appear to be more than

Right of sanctuary in Hawaii.

[1] A. Hellwig, *Das Asylrecht der Naturvölker* (Berlin, 1903); *id.*, *Beiträge zur Asylrecht von Ozeanien* (Stuttgart, 1906).

two or three days. After that, they either attached themselves to the service of the priests, or returned to their homes."[1]

One of these sanctuaries which Mr. Ellis examined at Honaunau is described by him as capacious and capable of containing a vast multitude of people. It was more than seven hundred feet long and four hundred feet wide; the walls were twelve feet high and fifteen feet thick. In time of war the old men, women, and children used to be left within it, while the warriors went out to fight.[2]

Sanctuaries on the GoldCoast.

P. 100. **In Western Africa . . . sanctuaries, etc.**—Among the Ga people of the Gold Coast every tribal fetish has the right to protect its suppliants. Slaves or freemen in distress may flee to it and find sanctuary. The fugitive says, "Hear, priest, I give myself to the fetish. If you let anybody wrench me away, you will die." After that the pursuer will not molest him. Such fugitives, when they have taken sanctuary, are not free; they are regarded as the clients or servants of the fetish-priest and of the king of the town. The king uses them as messengers, drummers, and so forth; the priest makes them lay out and cultivate his gardens, fetch wood, and serve him in other ways. When a fetish is famous, like Lakpa in La, there are many such refugees. They are called "fence people," because once a year they must make a new fence round the fetish-house; but they need not always dwell in its immediate neighbourhood.[3]

Ceremonies over dead animals to disenchant them.

P. 129. **Whenever one of these creatures is killed a ceremony has to be performed over it, etc.**—With this ceremony we may compare the ceremonies performed by the Malays over the game which they have killed, for the purpose of expelling the evil spirit or mischief (*badi*) which is thought to lurk in certain species of wild animals. Amongst the animals and birds supposed to be haunted or possessed by this evil spirit are deer, the mouse-deer (*Tragulus*), the wild pig, all monkeys (except gibbons), monitor lizards, certain snakes and crocodiles, the vulture, the stork, the jungle fowl (*Gallus gallus*), and the quail. The elephant, the rhinoceros, and the tapir have no *badi* in the strict sense of the word, but they have a *kuang*, which comes to much the same thing. If any of these creatures is killed without the evil spirit or mischief (*badi*) being cast out of the carcase, it is believed that all who are in at the death will be affected by a singular malady; for either they go mad and imitate the habits of the dead animal, or certain parts of their bodies are transformed into a likeness of the beast. Thus, if the creature that has been killed is a jungle fowl, the sufferer will crow

[1] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, Second Edition, iv. (London, 1836) pp. 167 *sq.*

[2] W. Ellis, *op. cit.* iv. 168.

[3] B. Struck, "Zur Kenntniss des Gâstammes (Goldküste)," *Globus*, xciii. (1908) p. 31.

and flap his arms like the fowl, and sometimes feathers may also grow on his arms. If the animal killed is a deer, he will butt at people with his head down, just like a stag, and in extreme cases antlers may sprout from his forehead and his feet may be cloven, like the hoofs of deer. Hence to prevent these painful consequences by casting the evil spirit out of the game is a necessary part of every master-huntsman's business. But few are adepts in the entire art of exorcism; for the manner of casting out the spirits varies according as the animal is a mammal, a bird, or a reptile. The most usual way is to stroke the body of the creature before or after death with a branch of a tree, while the enchanter utters a spell.[1] When the Zuñi Indians hunt a deer for the purpose of making a ceremonial mask out of its skin, the animal has to be killed with certain solemn rites, in particular it must be smothered, not shot; and amongst these Indians "a portion of all game, whether it is used for ceremonial purposes or otherwise, is offered to the Beast Gods, with prayers that they will intercede with the Sun Father and the Council of the Gods."[2] But these rites and customs appear to have no connection with totemism.

Ignorance of some natives of Central Borneo as to the true moment of conception.

P. 158. **He thinks that the child enters into the woman at the time when she first feels it stirring in her womb.**—A similar ignorance as to the true moment of conception is displayed by some of the natives of Central Borneo, who rank far higher than the Australian aborigines in mental endowments and material culture. Thus we are told that "the Bahau have only a very imperfect notion of the length of a normal pregnancy; they assume that it lasts only four or five months, that is, so long as they can perceive the external symptoms on the woman. As this ignorance appeared to be scarcely credible, I instituted enquiries on the subject in various neighbourhoods, as a result of which I observed that the many miscarriages and premature births, as well as the very prevalent venereal diseases, had contributed to this false notion. Also the natives are not aware that the testicles are necessary to procreation; for they think that their castrated hounds, to which the bitches are not wholly indifferent, can beget offspring."[3] It seems probable that many other savage tribes are equally ignorant of the moment and process of impregnation, and that they therefore may imagine it to begin only from the time when it is sufficiently advanced to manifest itself either by internal symptoms to the woman herself or by external symptoms to observers.

[1] Nelson Annandale, "Primitive Beliefs and Customs of the Patani Fishermen," *Fasciculi Malayenses, Anthropology*, Part i. (April, 1903) pp. 100-104. See further W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), pp. 155 *sq.*, 177 *sq.*, 427 *sqq.*

[2] Mrs. Matilda Coxe Stevenson, "The Zuñi Indians," *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1904), pp. 439-441.

[3] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, i. (Leyden, 1904) pp. 444 *sq.*

Food regarded as a cause of pregnancy.

P. 159. **Amongst the objects on which her fancy might pitch as the cause of her pregnancy we may suppose that the last food she had eaten would often be one.**—The tribes of the Cairns district in North Queensland actually believe that the acceptance of food from a man by a woman is the cause of conception.[1] In like manner "some of the aboriginal tribes of Malaya still hold the belief that the souls of men are incarnate in the form of birds and are born into the world through the birds being eaten by women. A theory of the same kind seems to underly the curiously important part played in Malay romance by the 'longings' (*idam*) of pregnant women."[2] I have already suggested that the longings of pregnant women may have had a large share in the origin of totemism by inducing mothers to identify their offspring with the things for which they had longed in their pregnancy and so to determine their children's totems.[3] It is even possible that these whims may be partly responsible for the existence of subtotems; since it is conceivable that a woman may often have enjoined her child to respect a number of animals, plants, or other objects on which her maternal heart had been set in the critical period.

P. 163, note [1]. **This observation . . . was communicated by me to my friend Dr. A. W. Howitt.**—In point of fact Dr. Howitt had himself made the same observation quite independently many years before, though at the time of my communication he and I had both forgotten it. The credit of the discovery, which is of the utmost importance for the understanding of the marriage system of the Australian aborigines, belongs to Dr. Howitt alone.[4]

Deliberate institution of exogamy among the Khonds.

P. 163. **They were deliberately devised and adopted as a means of preventing the marriage, etc.**—It appears that the Khonds of India at the present time occasionally lay interdicts on the intermarriage of two neighbouring tribes, whenever they think that through a prolonged practice of intermarriage between the two communities husbands and wives are apt to be too nearly related to each other by blood: in other words, they deliberately institute a new exogamous group. On this subject Mr. J. E. Friend-Pereira writes as follows: "An essential condition of marriage is that the contracting parties be not of the same tribe or sept; and even when they are of different tribes or septs, consanguinity up to the seventh generation is strictly prohibited. As there are no professional bards or genealogists among them, they resort to an ingenious device to guard against marriages within the forbidden degrees. When a neighbouring tribe, from which they have been

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 577.

[2] R. J. Wilkinson, *Malay Beliefs* (London and Leyden, 1906), p. 46.

[3] See above, pp. 64 *sqq.*

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 261 note [2], 285 note [1].

in the habit of procuring wives, begins to show signs of blood relationship in the course of time, a ban is placed on further marriages, and the two tribes, as is becoming among kinsmen, enter into a closer bond of friendship which is to last for fourteen generations. After that lapse of time a general council of the elders of the tribes is held, the interdict is removed, and intermarriage is once more resumed, to continue for another indefinite period."[1] It deserves to be noted that among the Khonds the regulation of intermarriage and the maintenance of exogamy between neighbouring groups appears to be in the hands of the councils of elders. This supports the opinion that among the Australian aborigines also the institution of exogamy has been created and upheld by the elders assembled in council.[2]

Division of opinion among the Australian aborigines as to the marriage of first cousins.

P. 279. **The aborigines of Australia . . . entertain a deep horror of incest, that is, of just those marriages which the exogamous segmentations of the community are fitted to preclude.** —This statement is too general. It applies universally to those marriages of brothers with sisters and of parents with children which the segmentation of the community first into two and afterwards into four exogamous divisions was designed to prevent; but it does not apply universally to the marriage of certain first cousins, namely the children of a brother and of a sister; for though some Australian tribes disapproved of and forbade the marriage of all first cousins without exception, others, for example the Urabunna, not only allow the marriage of these particular first cousins, the children of a brother and of a sister respectively, but regard them as the most natural and appropriate of all. Thus in Australia, as elsewhere, the incest line wavers in respect to first cousins; in some tribes it includes all marriages of first cousins; in other tribes it distinguishes between them, placing some within and others without the ban. A similar difference in the treatment of first cousin marriages occurs in many other peoples besides the Australian; for whereas some rigidly interdict them all, others not only permit but enjoin the marriage of those first cousins who are the children of a brother and of a sister respectively.[3]

P. 281. **External nature certainly acts on him, but he reacts on it, and his history is the resultant of that action and reaction, etc.**—The same thought, which I have here expressed from the point of view of human history, has been expressed quite in-

[1] J. E. Friend-Pereira, "Marriage Customs of the Khonds," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. lxxi. Part iii. Anthropology, etc. (Calcutta, 1903), p. 18. As to the exogamous divisions of the Khonds, see above, vol. ii. pp. 304 *sqq.*

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 352-356, 402.

[3] See above, pp. 108, 120; and the references in the Index, *s.v.* "Cousins."

dependently by Professor J. Y. Simpson from the point of view of biology in language which agrees almost verbally with mine. He says: "Finally, we are unable to forget the dominating rôle of the environment in all development: without its stimuli the inherited organization of the living creature would not work itself out. The living form is at any moment the resultant of external stimuli acting upon its inherited organization. This has been experimentally proved time and again: a normal development is the response to normal conditions. The development is thus educed, and it may be modified by the environment; but the fundamental character and cause of it lie in the inherited organization. The developing organism and its environment react the one upon the other independently; yet in virtue of its adaptiveness the organism continually sets itself free from the control of the environment and proves itself the more constant of the two. Separation of the two is practically impossible; we are almost compelled to consider the organism and its environment as a single system undergoing change."[1]

Influence of the environment on the organism.

P. 288. **If we assume . . . that the founders of exogamy in Australia recognised the classificatory system of relationship, and the classificatory system of relationship only, etc.**—This statement is too absolute. I assume that the founders of exogamy recognised the simplest social and consanguineous relationships, namely, the cohabitation of a man with a woman, the relationship of a mother to her children, and the relationship of brothers and sisters, the children of the same mother, to each other; and that they extended these simple relationships into the classificatory relationships by arranging all the men and women of the community into one or other of two exogamous and intermarrying classes. The cardinal relationship, on which the whole classificatory system hinged, was the relation of husband and wife or, to put it more generally, the cohabitation of a man with a woman.[2]

Recognition of the simplest relationships by the founders of exogamy.

P. 397. **The Kamilaroi type of social organisation, etc.**—Speaking of the Kamilaroi marriage system another writer says: "It is also a curious arrangement in these tribes that every man in any one class is supposed to have marital rights over every woman in the class with which he can marry; thus every Ipai regards every Kubbitha woman as his wife *in posse*. Hence a young man of the Ipai class, as soon as by tribal ceremonies he has acquired the right to marry, may go to the abode of a family of Kubbitha girls and say to one of them, in the presence of her parents, *Ngaia coolaid karramulla yaralla*, 'I wife will take by and by.' His demand thus

[1] Professor J. Y. Simpson, article "Biology," in Dr. J. Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1909) p. 634.

[2] See above, pp. 112 *sqq*.

made cannot be refused, and the parents must keep the girl until he comes to take her as his wife." [1]

Custom of avoidance between a man and his wife's mother in Australia.

P. 404. **A woman might neither speak with nor look at her daughter's husband.**—In some of the tribes of New South Wales, particularly it would seem among the Kamilaroi, if a man had spoken to his wife's mother he had to leave the camp and pitch his rude shelter of branches and bark at a distance from it. There he had to remain in seclusion till the taint contracted by talking to his mother-in-law might be supposed to be purged or worn away.[2] Among the Arunta of Central Australia a man has to avoid not only his actual mother-in-law but also all the women who belong to her subclass, and similarly a woman has to avoid not only her actual son-in-law but also all the men who belong to his subclass. On this subject Mr. F. J. Gillen tells us that "no man may speak to, look at, or go anywhere near a woman of the class to which the mother of his wife, or wives, belongs. All women of this class are *mūra* to him. The same law applies to the woman—that is to say, she must not speak to, look at, or go near any man of the class from which the husband of a daughter would be drawn. This law is strictly carried out even now. A man or woman *mūra* to each other will make a detour of half a mile rather than risk getting within distinguishing distance of the features."[3] "There is a very extraordinary custom prevailing among the Watchandies (and perhaps among other tribes) whereby a newly married man is not permitted to look on his mother-in-law (*ābrācurrā*) for a certain space of time. When she approaches he is obliged to retire, and should he not perceive her as she comes towards him, one of his fellows warns him of the fact and of the direction in which she is, and thereupon he retires in the opposite direction, without looking towards her, hiding himself behind a bush or a tree until it pleases her to go away, of which event he is immediately apprised by his comrades. I was not able to learn the origin of this custom, or the penalties entailed on those who infringe it."[4]

P. 405. **An obligation rested on the men of the same subclass and totem as the victim to avenge his death.**—Similarly of the tribes of New South Wales we are told that "when a blood feud has to be atoned, the whole totem (say, black-snake) of the aggressor

[1] John Fraser, "The Aborigines of New South Wales," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xvi. (1882) p. 222.

[2] John Fraser, *op. cit.* p. 224.

[3] F. J. Gillen, in *Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia*, Part iv. (London and Melbourne, 1896) p. 164. From the context it appears that by "class" Mr. Gillen here means any one of the four subclasses Panunga, Purula, Bulthara, and Kumara.

[4] A. Oldfield, "On the Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, New Series, iii. (1865) p. 251.

meets the totem (say, bandicoot) of the victim; champions are selected to represent each side as above, and the remainder of the men of these totems are spectators."[1]

Wives obtained by the exchange of sisters or other female relatives.

P. 409. **This custom of exchanging sisters, etc.**—The custom of obtaining a wife by giving a sister or other female relative in exchange was widespread among the Australian aborigines. Speaking of the natives of the Lower Murray and Lower Darling Rivers a writer observes: "Polygamy is allowed to any extent, and this law is generally taken advantage of by those who chance to be rich in sisters, daughters, or female wards, to give in exchange for wives. No man can get a wife unless he has a sister, ward, or daughter, whom he can give in exchange. Fathers of grown-up sons frequently exchange their daughters for wives, not for their sons, however, but for themselves, even although they already have two or three. Cases of this kind are indeed very hard for the sons, but being aboriginal law they must bear it as best they can, and that too without murmur; and to make the matter harder still to bear, the elders of a tribe will not allow the young men to go off to other tribes to steal wives for themselves, as such measures would be the certain means of entailing endless feuds with their accompanying bloodshed, in the attempts that would surely be made with the view of recovering the abducted women. Young men, therefore, not having any female relatives or wards under their control must, as a consequence of the aboriginal law on the subject, live all their lives in single blessedness, unless they choose to take up with some withered old hags whom nobody owns, merely for the purpose of having their fires cared for, their water-vessels filled, and their baggage carried from camp to camp."[2]

P. 501. **In Africa . . . the custom of polyandry is apparently unknown.**—This is a mistake. Polyandry is practised by the Bahima and Baziba of Central Africa.[3]

P. 503. **Australia, where the husband regularly goes to live with her husband's people.**—However, according to Mr. Aldridge, of Maryborough, Queensland, "when a man marries a woman from a distant locality, he goes to her tribelet and identifies himself with her people. This is a rule with very few exceptions. Of course, I speak of them as they were in their wild state. He becomes part of and one of the family. In the event of a war expedition, the daughter's husband acts as a blood-relation, and will fight and kill

[1] John Fraser, "The Aborigines of New South Wales," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xvi. (1882) p. 226.

[2] Peter Beveridge, "Of the Aborigines inhabiting the great Lacustrine and Riverine Depression of the Lower Murray, Lower Murrumbidgee, Lower Lachline, and Lower Darling," *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, xvii. (1883) p. 23.

[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 538.

his own blood-relations if blows are struck by his wife's relations. I have seen a father and son fighting under these circumstances, and the son would most certainly have killed his father if others had not interfered." [1]

[1] Quoted by Professor E. B. Tylor, "On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889) pp. 250 *sq.* I regret that in arguing against Prof. Tylor's view (vol. i. pp. 503 *sq.*) I overlooked this statement of Mr. Aldridge, though it was quoted by Prof. Tylor in the paper to which I referred.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME II

P. 46. **Totemism in South-Eastern New Guinea.**—The evidence for the practice of totemism in South-Eastern New Guinea and the neighbouring islands has now been published more fully by Dr. C. G. Seligmann. I will here supplement the account given in the text by some further particulars drawn from his book.[1]

The two races of New Guinea, the Papuans and the Melanesians.

Dr. Seligmann tells us that New Guinea is inhabited by two entirely different races of men, the Papuans in the west and the Melanesians in the east. The Papuans of the west are a congeries of frizzly-haired and often mop-headed peoples of a dark chocolate or sooty brown complexion, with high heads, long arched noses, prominent brow-ridges, and receding foreheads. The Melanesians are smaller and of a lighter complexion, with shorter noses, less prominent brow-ridges, and rounded, not retreating foreheads; their hair, like that of the Papuans, is frizzly. Further, Dr. Seligmann distinguishes the Melanesians of New Guinea into two branches, a Western and an Eastern. The Western Melanesians border on the Papuans at Cape Possession and extend thence eastward to Orangerie Bay. They seem to have absorbed some Papuan elements by admixture with the aborigines whom they probably found in possession of the country when they immigrated into it from the east; indeed many of them, for example the Koita near Port Moresby, still speak Papuan languages. The Eastern Melanesians or Massim, as Dr. Seligmann calls them, occupy the south-eastern extremity of British New Guinea from Cape Nelson on the north and Orangerie Bay on the south, and they are also spread over the adjacent archipelagoes, including the Louisiade Archipelago, the Trobriand Islands, the Marshall Bennet Islands, and Murua or Woodlark Islands.[2]

Totemism of the Eastern Melanesians or Massim

The most characteristic feature in the culture of the Eastern Melanesians or Massim is the existence of a peculiar form of totemism with maternal descent. The members of each clan have as totems a series of associated animals belonging to different

[1] C. G. Seligmann, M.D., *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910).

[2] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 1-7.

classes of the organic kingdom; ordinarily these linked totems, as Dr. Seligmann calls them, are a bird, a fish, a snake, and a plant. But a four-footed vertebrate, such as the monitor lizard or the crocodile, may be added to each series of linked totems, while one of the orders of the animal kingdom, which ought to be represented in the series of linked totems, may be absent in a particular place. Towards the north-western borders of the district the typical arrangement of the totems into a linked series of living organisms has disappeared and rocks may be added to the list of totems, and in these parts the snake totem is particularly important; indeed the snake is here sometimes regarded as the creator of the world. On the whole, however, throughout the area occupied by the Eastern Melanesians or Massim the most important totems are the birds, and the first question commonly put to a stranger is, "What is your bird?" In old days the rule of exogamy was strictly observed by the totemic clans, but at present it is being disregarded.[1]

The totemic system of the Eastern Melanesians, so far as it is practised at Wagawaga on Milne Bay and in Tubetube, a small island of the Engineer Group off the eastern extremity of New Guinea, has already been described[2] and nothing further need be said on the subject. But it may be well to give some particulars as to the totemism of these Eastern Melanesians or Massim in other places.

Totemism at Bartle Bay in New Guinea.

Thus at Bartle Bay, on the northern coast of British New Guinea, there are three communities called respectively Wamira, Wedau, and Gelaria, each of which is divided into a number of totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the female line. The Wamira communities comprise twenty-one clans each, while the Gelaria community comprises only three. Each clan has usually a series of linked totems. Thus, for example, in the Wamira community the Mara clan has for its totems the white pigeon and the mountain bird; the Iriki clan has for its totems the cockerel, the blue pigeon, and a red poisonous snake (*irikiei*); the Ianibolanai clan has for its totems the lizard, the sea-gull, and the quail; the Radava clan has for its totems the cassowary, a snake (*gabadi*), and a fish; the Inagabadi clan has for its totems the cassowary, a snake (*gabadi*), and two kinds of fish; the Iaronai clan has for its totems the white pig, the quail, the crow, and the eel; the Vava and Gebai clans have each for their totems a hawk, a small bird, and the shark; and the Garuboi clan has for its totems the crow, a snake (*garuboi*), a fish, and a bird. In the Wedau community the Garuboi clan has for its totems the moon and a snake (*garuboiei*); the Iriki clan has for its totems the cockerel, the blue pigeon, and a snake (*irikiei*); the Manibolonai clan has for its totems the sea-

[1] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 9 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 46-55.

gull, the quail, a sea bird, and a snake; the Aurana clan has for its totems the sea-hawk, the hawk, and the cockerel; the Bouni clan has for its totems a sea fish, a freshwater fish, and a bird; the Derama clan has for its totems the lizard, the quail, the sea-gull, and a sea bird; the Diguma clan has for its totems the alligator, a bird, and a snake; the Lavarata clan has for its totems a tree and two stones; and the Gora clan has for its totems the sun and a parrot. In the Gelaria community the Garuboi clan has for its totems a constrictor snake (*garuboi*) and the hornbill; the Girimoa clan has for its totems a constrictor snake (*garuboi*), the hornbill, and the pig; and the Elewa clan has for its totems the dog and the pigeon.[1]

Exogamous classes at Bartle Bay in New Guinea.

Further, these totemic clans are grouped in exogamous classes or phratries. Six such exogamous classes or phratries are recorded for the Wamira, nine for the Wedau, and two for the Gelaria.[2] Though the clans are inherited from the mother, a man is forbidden to marry into his father's clan as well as into his own; the rule of exogamy is absolute.[3]

Respect shewn for the totem.

A man will not eat the flesh of his totemic animal, though in some cases he may kill it. Further, he will not eat or injure his father's totem. If a man sees his totem snake lying on the path, he will go round it to avoid touching it. But the natives deny that their totems help them; the only exception to this rule is the Elewa clan of the Gelaria community, who have the dog for their chief totem. They think that their dogs help them, and that strange dogs will not bite them. They are fond of the animal, and bury a dead dog if they find it. A Wamira man of the Logaloga clan will kill his totemic bird, the red parrot, and he will wear its feathers, but he will not eat the bird. An Ianibolanai man will not kill or eat the monitor lizard, his most important totem, but he will use a drum, the tympanum of which is formed of the lizard's skin. An Iaronai man will keep white pigs, his totem, though he will not eat them. A Lavarata man, who has the *modewa* tree for his totem, will not use the wood of the tree as fuel. One Wedau clan which has a stone for one of its totems will boil chips of the sacred stone and drink the water in order to get strength in war; people come from far and near to drink the invigorating beverage.[4] The Wamira word for a totem is *bariaua*, a term which they apply to any supernatural or uncanny agency, including white men. They speak of the totemic animal, reptile, or bird as the father or grandfather of the family.[5]

In battle a man would avoid men of his own totem on the other side and would not throw spears at them. "He would recognize

[1] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 446-450.

[2] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 437-439.

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 447.

[4] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 450-452.

[5] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 446, quoting the Rev. Copland King.

his clansmen by their *gia* (lit. nose), probably meaning face, having previously met them at the feasts given for miles around, for no distinctive clan badge is worn in battle."[1] Perhaps among these people, as among the Baganda,[2] each totemic clan has its own physical type which an experienced eye can recognise at once.

Totemism at Mukaua in New Guinea.

About thirty-five miles west of Bartle Bay is the Mukaua community, occupying six settlements separated from each other by not more than two hundred yards. Four of the settlements are hamlets containing households of only one totemic clan. The remaining two settlements contain two clans each; but the houses of each clan, though they are built close together, are held to form separate hamlets, each with its own name and headman. Each clan has its totem or totems, which children inherit from their father. The totems of the Murimuri clan are the Goura pigeon, the crow, five kinds of fish, a clam, and a cephalopod. The totems of the Wairapia clan are the dog, the cuscus, the bandicoot, a fish, a large lizard (perhaps the *Varanus* sp.), and two kinds of banana. The Kaiwunu clan has for its totem a fish of the same name (*kaiwunu*). The Inauboana clan has for its totems the turtle, a constrictor snake, and two kinds of fish. The Yabayabata clan has for its totems the red parrot, a cephalopod, a fish (perhaps a kind of sea-perch), and a kind of banana. The Kaukepo clan has for its totems the flying fox, a constrictor snake, the turtle, the dugong, and the *bonugegadara*, which is perhaps a small whale. The clan Natuwosa has for its totems the turtle, a lizard, the sting ray, and another kind of fish. The Mukaua people do not kill or eat their totems, but they use feathers of their totemic birds. If a man who has the monitor lizard or the cuscus for his totem kills one of these animals, the headman is very angry and the culprit himself suffers from boils. If a man catches his totemic fish by accident, he will not return it to the water; but a man of another totem will disengage the fish from the hook and eat it. A man who has bananas for his totem may plant them and pick the fruit for other people, although he may not himself partake of it.[3]

Totemism at Bogaboga in New Guinea.

Some four miles to the east of the Mukaua community is the Bogaboga community, who speak the same language and observe the same customs. The Bogaboga are divided into five totemic clans. Among the totems are birds, fish, bananas, forest trees, and a prominent mountain, which is the chief totem of the Kibiris clan. People who have trees for their totems may not fell or injure the trees, nor may they use the wood for building houses or canoes, nor for burning. People who have the mountain for their totem may not look at it or set foot on it. Boils are believed to

[1] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 451.

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 505 *sq.*

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 740-742, from information furnished by Mr. E. L. Giblin.

break out on people who eat their totemic fish. A Bogaboga man made the following statement as to certain totemic charms which he made use of: "Each one of my fish-totems has a spell (*muara*) named after it, and when I am fishing if I see a fish that in any way reminds me of that fish [*i.e.* the totem fish] in its appearance, movement or colour, I use the spell of that fish [*i.e.* of that totem fish], and then am sure to catch successfully and to spear straight. In fighting I would pray to the *muara* of the *manubada* [the fish-hawk] so that just as it darts down from the sky and never misses its prey, so will my spear dart straightly and pierce deeply. When on a raid I would repeat the *muara* of the *kisakisa* [a hawk] so that even as it snatches meat from a man's hand or from a cooking-pot, so may I snatch or seize my spoil from the place of the enemy."[1]

Totemism among the Kubiri at Cape Nelson.

Still further to the west, at Cape Nelson, "totemism is well developed among the Kubiri. The crocodile is a totem and its intercession is sought by placing food in the rivers for it to eat. The more common customs of totemism are in full force. The crocodile clan has many subsidiary totems; these include two shell-fish, because their shells are like the scales of the crocodile, three freshwater fish, because the crocodile feeds on them, a variety of taro, and a kind of banana which has the same name as the crocodile and which is used to feed it. Even subsidiary totems may not be eaten, and in some cases they may not be touched."[2]

From this brief but interesting notice of Kubiri totemism it would seem that the system is developing into a religion, since the totemic crocodile is propitiated by offerings of food. Further, we learn some of the causes which give rise to subsidiary totems. It appears that anything connected with the principal totem, such as the animals which it feeds on, or anything that resembles it in appearance, or anything, however different, which bears the same name, may thereby acquire a sacred character and become a subsidiary totem.

So much for totemism among the Massim or Eastern Melanesians on the mainland of New Guinea. A similar system of linked totems is in vogue among the people of the same stock who inhabit the archipelagoes immediately to the east of that great island.

Totemism in the Trobriand Islands.

Thus the natives of the Trobriand Islands are divided into four totemic and exogamous clans, the names of which, with their linked totems, are as follows:—

[1] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 740, 742 *sq.*

[2] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 743 *sq.*, quoting Dr. Strong. We have seen that totemism is practised among the Kworafi of Cape Nelson. See above, vol. ii. p. 55.

Name of Clan.	Bird Totem.	Animal Totem.	Fish Totem.	Plant Totem.
Malasi	pigeon	pig	? *mawa*	*kaiaula*
Lukuba	fish-hawk	dog	? *mamila*	*meku*
Lukosisiga	green parrot	crocodile	? *kaisoa*	*girigiri*
Lokulobuta	lory	monitor lizard	? *mwaluya*	*butir*

Of these totems the birds are in every clan of paramount importance. Doubts exist as to the fish totems, which in any case are unimportant by comparison with the other totems.[1] A man ought not to eat his totemic bird; if he breaks the rule, his stomach will swell and he may die. However, even this fundamental rule is now breaking down under foreign influence. Some people who have the pig for one of their totems think that if they ate wild pigs, their stomachs would swell up. Others would eat tame black pigs, but not yellowish-brown pigs, because that, they say, is the colour of man. Some men of the Malasi clan keep pigs, their totem; and throughout the Trobriand Islands the pig is well treated.[2] The totemic clans are exogamous, in other words, no man may marry a woman of his own totem. However, the rule is now being relaxed. In the old days a man was also forbidden to marry a woman of his father's totemic clan. Some men also refrain from eating their father's totemic birds and fish. But contact with white traders is rapidly wearing away the scruples of the natives on these points.[3]

The classificatory system of relationship in the Trobriand Islands.

The natives of the Trobriand Islands have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus in the generation above his own a man applies the same term, *tama*, to his father, to his father's brothers, and to the husbands of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term, *ina*, to his mother, to his mother's sisters, to the wives of his father's brothers, and to the wives of his mother's brothers. In his own generation a man applies the same term, *luguta*, to his sisters and to his female cousins, the daughters either of his father's brothers or of his mother's sisters. He applies the same term, *tua*, to his elder brother, to his elder sister, to his cousin, the child either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, and also to his wife's sister. A woman applies the same term, *tua*, to her husband's brothers. A man applies the same term, *bwada*, to his younger brother, to his younger sister, to his male cousin, the son either of his father's brother or of his mother's sister, and also to his wife's sister and to her husband. A woman applies the same term, *bwada*, to her husband's brother and to his wife. In the generation below his own a man applies the same term, *latu*, to his

[1] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 677 *sq.*

[2] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 680 *sq.*

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 683.

own child, to his brother's child, and also to the child of his mother's brother.[1] This last application suggests that a man has, or used to have, access to the wife of his mother's brother, since he applies the same term to her child that he applies to his own. We have seen that a similar implication is conveyed by classificatory terms in Mota, Uganda, and some tribes of North American Indians.[2]

Totemism in the Marshall Bennet Islands.

A similar system of totemism prevails in the Marshall Bennet Islands to the east of the Trobriands. Of the linked totems the birds are the most important, next to them perhaps come the fish totems, and after them the plant totems. The snake totems are insignificant; indeed some clans are said to have no snake totems. Further, certain four-footed vertebrates, the dog, the pig, and the large monitor lizards are totem animals on some, if not all, of the islands. On Gawa there are five clans with the fish-hawk, the pigeon, the frigate-bird, the lory, and a bird called *tarakaka* for their chief totems. On Iwa there are four clans with the fish-hawk, the pigeon, the frigate-bird, and the lory for their chief totems. In each island one particular clan is recognised as traditionally the strongest and most influential. In Gawa the dominant clan is the Fish-hawk clan; in Iwa it is the Pigeon clan. Men will not eat or injure their totemic birds and fishes. The objection to coming into contact with the totem fish is carried so far that a married man or woman will not bring his or her spouse's fish into the house, but will cook and eat it on the beach. A man will not injure his totemic plant, but if it proves troublesome in his garden he might ask a man of another totem to cut it down for him. Every one shews nearly the same respect for his father's totemic animals that he shews for his own. No one will kill or eat his father's bird and fish totems, nor will he uproot or injure his father's totemic plant. The totemic clans are still strictly exogamous. No man marries a woman of his own totem, and in the old days no man or woman would marry into his or her father's totemic clan. The origin of the totemic clans is explained in Iwa by a legend that each clan came out of a different hole in the ground bringing with it the totemic animals, while the totemic plants grew near the holes from which they emerged.[3] In the Trobriand Islands the origin of the totemic clans is set forth in a similar legend.[4]

Totemism in Murua or Woodlark Islands.

A system of linked totems is found also in Murua or Woodlark Island, to the east of the Marshall Bennet Islands. Among the linked totems are the Torres Straits pigeon and a large fish called *gudowara*; the scarlet lory and the turtle; the fish-hawk and the rock-cod; the cockatoo and a large red fish called *digbosara*; the

[1] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 707.

[2] See above, vol. ii. pp. 510 *sq.*

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 684-688.

[4] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* p. 679.

crow and the shark; the flying fox and a big predatory fish called *gagatu*; the megapod and the dugong; the blue pigeon and a snake; the frigate-bird and the crocodile. There is some difference of opinion as to how a man should treat his totem bird, but no one will hesitate to kill and eat his totem fish. On the other hand, no one will kill, eat, or in any way come into contact with his father's totem bird or fish, if he can help it; and no one will marry into his father's totemic clan. The name for a totemic clan is *man*.[1]

Totemism in the Louisiades.

Again, a system of linked totems prevails in the Louisiades, an archipelago situated some way to the south-east of New Guinea; but details of the system are wanting. Every person has a number of linked totems, which may consist of one or more birds with a fish, a snake, and often a tree. One of the bird totems is more important than the others. The place of the fish totem may be taken by a turtle or alligator, and the place of the snake totem is sometimes taken by a lizard. There seems to be no grouping of the clans in classes or phratries in any of the islands of the Louisiades.[2]

Mutual avoidance of relations by marriage at Wagawaga and in Tubetube.

P. 47. **Totemism at Wagawaga.**—At Wagawaga, in South-eastern New Guinea, and in the neighbouring small island of Tubetube, relations by marriage observe some of those customs of ceremonial avoidance of which we have met with so many examples among totemic and exogamous peoples. Many such relations may not mention each other's names. Thus, a man may not mention the name of his daughter-in-law, and she may not mention his. Husband and wife are also forbidden to utter each other's names, and so are brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. But the restriction is not limited to persons of different sexes; for brothers-in-law will not mention each other's names, nor will a father-in-law and a son-in-law. Further, "the majority of connections by marriage who are of opposite sexes and between whom there is a name avoidance also avoid coming into contact with each other. A man would most rigidly avoid talking to a sister of his wife whether he met her alone or in the company of others. If he met her alone he would avoid coming near her at all; if this were impossible, as when meeting on a jungle track, brother-in-law and sister-in-law would turn their backs to each other in passing and one, usually the woman, would step aside into the bush. A man avoids his mother-in-law less rigidly than his wife's sisters, although if he meets her alone he treats her in the same way, and even in public does not usually enter her house unless he is living there. In his own house he may talk to her a little, and he may eat food she has cooked, but he does not take the pot containing food directly from her. Father-in-law and daughter-in-law avoid each other very much

Avoidance of a wife's sister.

Avoidance of a wife's mother.

[1] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 689-691.

[2] C. G. Seligmann, *op. cit.* pp. 736 *sq.*

as do mother-in-law and son-in-law. A man does not avoid his brothers' wives."[1] This custom of rigidly avoiding a wife's sisters can hardly be explained otherwise than as a precaution intended to prevent an improper intimacy between a man and his sisters-in-law.

The Kaya-Kaya of Dutch New Guinea.

P. 59. **The Tugeri or Kaya-Kaya . . . are reported to have a complicated totemic system.**—The Kaya-Kaya are a large tribe, numbering many thousands, who inhabit the southern coast of Dutch New Guinea from Merauke westward as far at least as the village of Makaling. They are a tall, slender, but muscular race with long hooked noses and a light-brown skin. Their staple food is sago, but they also plant bananas, yams, and taro. These plantations are very carefully kept, and in the low swampy lands, which skirt the coast, channels are cut at right angles to each other for the purpose of running off the flood water. The first work of laying out a new plantation is done by the men; afterwards the women keep it in order. Many coco-nut palms are planted near the villages and along the coast. The only domestic animals bred by the Kaya-Kaya are pigs and dogs; but dogs were quite unknown to the tribe before they came into contact with Europeans. Game is plentiful and is much hunted. The favourite quarry is the wild boar and a large species of wallaby; but crocodiles, cassowaries, and many marsh birds are also killed and eaten.[2]

The houses of the Kaya-Kaya are built on the ground, not raised on piles. All the male inhabitants of a village live and sleep together in a few men's houses (*anmánga safú*), which generally stand at each end of the village. Between them in a row are the women's houses (*búbti safú*), a house for every mother, her children, and female relatives. Thus the number of the women's houses corresponds roughly to the number of the families. . The unmarried men (*ewáti*) sleep in the men's houses, but must pass the day in the *kotad*, which is a bachelor's club-house outside of the village. The men may not enter the women's houses, and the women may not enter the men's houses.[3]

Every year when the weather is favourable the Kaya-Kaya make joint raids into the territory of neighbouring tribes to carry off human heads. Before they behead a prisoner they ask him his name; then having decapitated him they leave the trunk weltering in its blood and carry back the dripping head to the village. They eat the brain and the tongue, and having mummified the head or stripped it of the flesh they hang it up in one of the

[1] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge, 1910), pp. 485 *sq.*

[2] R. Pöch, "Vierter Bericht über meine Reise nach Neu-Guinea," *Sitzungsberichte der mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), cxv. (1906) pp. 895 *sq.*, 897 *sq.*

[3] R. Pöch, *op. cit.* p. 899.

men's houses. The man who took the head bestows the name of the slain man on a child who is his next of kin. Children for whom no head has been cut off have no name.[1]

Masked dances.

From time to time great festivals are held, to which many hundreds of people come from neighbouring villages. On these occasions dances are danced in which the dancers wear masks representing various animals. The occasions of such festivals are the successful issue of a head-hunt, the initiation of young men, a marriage, a good harvest, and so on.

Bull-roarers.

The Kaya-Kaya are acquainted with the bull-roarer, which they call *sosom*. They give the same name Sosom to a mythical giant, who is supposed to appear every year with the south-east monsoon. When he comes, a festival is held in his honour and bull-roarers are swung. Women may not see the bull-roarers, or they would die. Boys are presented to the giant and he kills them, but brings them to life again.[2]

Totemic clans of the Kaya-Kaya.

The Kaya-Kaya are divided into totemic and exogamous clans with descent in the paternal line; in other words, no man may marry a woman of his own clan, and children take their totem from their father. Some of the clans include totemic subclans. Both animals and plants figure among the totems. The following is the list of the Kaya-Kaya clans and subclans, so far as they were ascertained by Mr. R. Pöch:—

1. The *Gépsi* or Coco-nut-palm people: to them belong the *Kiú-boan* or Descendants of the Crocodile.

2. The *Mahúse* or Sago-palm people: to them belong the *Gåt-boan* or Descendants of the Dog.

3. The *Kahíse* or Cassowary people: to them belong the *Samkáke* or Kangaroo people, and the *Takáf-boan* or the Fire people, so called because they set fire to the grass in hunting.

4. The *Bragáse* or the Yam people: to them belong the *Kidúb-boan* or Descendants of the Eagle.

5. The *Diwarek* or the *Djamboe* people (*djamboe* is a Malay word applied to an apple-like tree-fruit): to them belong the *Sohé-boan* or Potatoe people, and the *Anda-boan* or Descendants of a certain Fish (German *Neunfisch*).

6. The *Basíse* or the Pig people.

7. The *Wábarik* or the Lizard people.

The *Gépsi* or Coco-nut-palm people enjoy a high reputation, but on the strength of it they are not entitled to order the Sago-palm people about. Marriage between the clans is regulated by custom; thus it is said that the Coco-nut-palm man is the husband of the

[1] R. Pöch, "Vierter Bericht über meine Reise nach Neu-Guinea," *Sitzungsberichte der mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), cxv. (1906) p. 901.

[2] R. Pöch, *op. cit.* pp. 901, 902.

Sago-palm woman. Each clan is forbidden to eat certain foods. Thus the Coco-nut-palm people may eat coco-nuts, but not the flying squirrel (*Petaurus*), which lives in these palms. The Sago people may eat sago, but not dogs, because they are descended from a dog. A man's wife and children abstain from the same food from which he abstains.[1]

Thus finding totemism practised by a large tribe in Dutch New Guinea we may reasonably surmise that it is practised by many more tribes of the same region, though the existence of the institution appears to have escaped the notice of the Dutch.

P. 65. **The New Caledonians have apparently the classificatory system of relationship.**—Another writer tells us that among the New Caledonians "the uncle takes the place of the father and is also designated by the word 'papa,' and similarly the aunt is designated by the word 'mamma,' the native term for 'papa' being *baba*, and the native term for 'mamma' being *gnagna*."[2]

Mutual avoidance of brothers and sisters in the New Hebrides and New Caledonia.

P. 77. **Rules of avoidance . . . between brothers and sisters.**—On this custom in the New Hebrides another writer (Father A. Deniau) observes: "At Malo brother and sister never eat together and never go in each other's company. If a sister is in a gathering and her brother afterwards appears there, she escapes or, if she cannot, she goes to a distance, squats on her heels, with her back turned and her eyes cast down to the ground, till her brother has disappeared. If by chance she meets him on the path, she throws herself aside, with her face turned in the opposite direction and her eyes lowered. If it is absolutely necessary that brothers and sisters should communicate with each other, they may do so only through the medium of a third person."[3] Similarly in New Caledonia brothers and sisters "are very fond of each other. The brother will everywhere protect his sister, but will never speak to her; on the contrary he shuns every occasion of being with her. He is completely separated from her by his education and he never addresses a word to her. I could not learn the cause of this custom."[4]

P. 96.—**Dr. Rivers omitted to enquire whether a man may or may not marry a woman who has the same conceptional totem as himself.**—Since the passage in the text was printed Dr. W. H. R. Rivers has learned from his correspondent in Melanesia that, just as I had

[1] R. Pöch, "Vierter Bericht über meine Reise nach Neu-Guinea," *Sitzungsberichte der mathematisch-naturwissenschaftlichen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), cxv. (1906) p. 900.

[2] L. Moncelon, in *Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, Troisième Série, ix. (1886) p. 366.

[3] Father A. Deniau, "Croyances religieuses et mœurs des indigènes de l'île Malo (Nouvelles Hébrides) à l'arrivée des missionaires en 1887," *Les Missions catholiques*, xxxiii. (1901) p. 358.

[4] Glaumont, "Usages, mœurs et coutumes des Néo-Calédoniens," *Revue d'ethnographie*, vii. (1889) p. 84.

conjectured, two persons who have the same conceptional totem are free to marry each other. Thus all the inferences which I had provisionally drawn from my conjectural anticipation of this information are confirmed. The resemblances between the conceptional totemism of the Banks' Islanders and that of the Central Australians are hence very close indeed. In neither people are the totems hereditary; in both they are determined for each individual by the fancy of his or her pregnant mother, who imagines that she has conceived through the entrance into her of a spirit without any help from the male sex. But of the two systems the Melanesian is the more primitive; indeed it answers exactly to what I had postulated on theoretical grounds as the absolutely primitive type of totemism.[1] For whereas the Australian mother imagines that what has entered her womb is a human spirit with an animal or plant for its totem, the Melanesian mother imagines that what has entered her womb is a spirit animal or spirit plant, and when her child is born she identifies it with the spirit animal or spirit plant which she had conceived. Further, while both peoples have a strict system of exogamous classes, neither of them applies the rule of exogamy to their totems; among the Melanesians, as among the Central Australians, a man is quite free to marry a woman who has the same conceptional totem as himself. The reason why both peoples, while adhering strictly to the rule of exogamy as regards the classes, do not apply the rule to their totems is very simple, as I have already explained.[2] When totems are not inherited but determined fortuitously by the fancies of pregnant women, the application to them of the rule of exogamy could not effect what exogamy was designed to effect, namely, the prevention of the marriage of near kin. Hence in the Banks' Islands as in Central Australia the institutions of totemism and exogamy exist independently side by side without mingling with or in any way affecting each other. In both places the exogamous class is a totally different thing from the totemic group or clan. Here we have pure totemism and pure exogamy.

Parallel between the conceptional totemism of the Banks' Islanders and that of the Central Australians.

P. 183. **They are divided into a large number of exogamous families or clans.**—Another Micronesian people who are divided into exogamous clans are the Mortlock Islanders. Their islands form part of the Caroline Group. Each clan traces its descent from a single ancestress and is hereditary in the female line. No man may marry or have sexual intercourse with a woman of his own clan. A breach of this rule is regarded as incest of the most heinous sort to be expiated only by death. Every member of the criminal's clan would avenge such an outrage. Each clan has its own lands, which are sometimes in different islands. The social

Exogamous clans in the Mortlock Islands.

[1] See vol. i. pp. 157 *sqq.*

[2] Vol. i. pp. 165 *sq.*, vol. ii. pp. 96 *sq.*, vol. iv. pp. 127 *sq.*

Exogamous clans in the Mortlock Islands.

head of the clan is the oldest woman, who is treated with particular respect; the political head of the clan is the oldest man of the oldest family. When a chief dies, he is succeeded by his brother or other nearest male relation. Men and women of the same clan are kept strictly apart; all the traditional laws and customs of the islanders, we are told, aim at making impossible the near approach of the two sexes to each other in the same clan. Hence a brother and sister never sleep in the same house. The brother sleeps in the large men's house (*fel*); the sister sleeps in her mother's hut (*im*). In the presence of her husband a woman may not stand beside her brother while he sits, and she may not touch him with her hand. If she sees him sitting on the shore and he refuses to rise at her bidding, she must pass him in a stooping attitude. It is only in the earliest years of childhood that brothers and sisters are allowed to play together. As the men of each clan have to seek their wives or other female consorts in a different clan, they are almost always absent from home. And as the children never belong to their father's clan but always to their mother's, it follows that in a war between the clans fathers and sons may be arrayed against each other. On the other hand, if two warriors meet in a fight and learn that they are members of the same clan, they will not hurt each other. In short, the whole social system of the Mortlock Islanders is built up on these exogamous clans with descent in the maternal line.[1]

Separation of husband and wife in the family life of the Malays of South Sumatra.

P. 193. **A woman at marriage remains in her mother's family and her mother's house, where she is visited by her husband.**—A social system under which husband and wife live all their lives long apart from each other in separate families and in separate houses is so alien to our habits that it may be well to illustrate it a little more fully. Apparently within the East Indian Archipelago this remarkable arrangement prevails only in Sumatra among some Malay peoples who practise exogamy and mother-kin.[2] The following is the account given of the custom by the late Professor G. A. Wilken, one of the best authorities on Malay institutions. Speaking of the custom of tracing descent in the female line, which he calls by the common but inappropriate name of matriarchate, Wilken observes:[3] "There are only a few peoples among whom this institution is preserved intact. Amongst them are the Malays of South Sumatra, with whom exclusive descent in the female line lies at the foundation of their social life. The children of the daughters therefore belong to the family, but the children of the sons do not.

[1] J. Kubary, "Die Bewohner der Mortlock-Inseln," *Mittheilungen der geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg, 1878-79*, pp. 21-29, 37 (separate reprint).

[2] G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 325.

[3] G. A. Wilken, *op. cit.* pp. 323 *sq*

The family is propagated through the woman; she is heir. A necessary consequence of this is that at her marriage the woman remains in the family, in the household, to which she belongs; that is, she remains with her brothers and sisters. In fact, she does not even quit the house in which she was born and grew up. But the husband also on his side remains at marriage, like his wife, in his family and similarly does not quit the family dwelling. Thus marriage does not bring with it cohabitation; in truth even then man and wife live apart. Their wedded life manifests itself only in the form of visits which the husband pays to his wife. That is, he goes to his wife by day, helps her in her work at the rice-fields, and shares with her the noontide meal. At least that is the procedure in the honeymoon. Afterwards the visits by day grow rarer, and the husband comes now and then at evening to her house and stays there, if he is a faithful spouse, till the next morning. Thus what we have to bear in mind is that husband and wife do not live together nor form a common household, but that each of them stays in his or her family and household with his or her brothers and sisters and forms with them a single household. So the household consists not of husband, wife, and children, but of brothers, sisters, and sisters' children. At the head of the household stands the eldest brother and wields authority also over his sisters' children in as much as they belong to the household. The maternal uncle, the *mamak*, is in respect of his rights and duties the proper father also of his sisters' children, the *kamanakan*.

The mother's eldest brother the head of the household.

"The father, in as much as he does not belong to the household, has nothing to say to his children. In his turn he also, at least if he is an eldest brother, stands at the head of the household composed of his brothers and sisters and his sisters' children. On the death of the eldest brother the next brother becomes head of the household, and so on till all the brothers are dead. Then the household is broken up. Each sister with her children then forms a new household, and when she dies the children again form a household with the eldest son at their head. Thus the household does not always consist of brothers, sisters, and sisters' children; sometimes it consists of a mother with her children. Yet the first is the normal household, the second only a transitional one. Properly speaking a woman, if she is married and has children, belongs to two households, namely, to the household of her brothers and sisters and to the nascent household of her children. The latter remains in a state of abeyance so long as the former exists; it only comes into independent being when the other, through the death of all the brothers, has ceased to exist.

"With this institution the right of inheritance is bound up. In the first place it is to be remarked that in marriage there is no such

No community of goods between husband and wife.

thing as community of goods between husband and wife. From the nature of the case such a community is impossible, since husband and wife never form a single household but always belong to two different households. The goods of the husband pass at his death to his heirs and those of the wife to her heirs. But the heirs are, first, those who belong to the household of the testator. If the husband dies, his children do not inherit because they do not belong to his household; but in the first place his brothers and sisters inherit, and failing them his sisters' children, boys and girls alike. However, at the death of the wife it is her children, her sons and daughters, who inherit, and if there are none, then her brothers and sisters. Properly speaking it is only the women, whether daughters or sisters, who inherit; for the inheritance, the *harta pusaka*, which is not divided, serves primarily for the maintenance of the female members of the household, and the male members only get anything that remains over. Thus it is with great justice that the Sanscrit word *pusaka* has been applied in this connection and has only gradually acquired the meaning of inheritance. What we must therefore keep in view is, that as a logical consequence of the whole matriarchal constitution of the household the children do not inherit from their father. Indeed his household, his brothers and sisters, take good care that nothing of the estate which he has left goes to his children. As soon as the father is dead, his relations, the heirs, hasten to his wife's house to demand the goods which may have been bequeathed by the deceased. Only by gifts in his lifetime can a father do anything for his children. However, a custom has gradually grown up in many places, that a father may dispose of the half of his property in gifts for the good of his children. But in order to be legally valid such a gift (*libah*) must be made in presence of brothers, sisters, and witnesses. If this formality is omitted, it is quite certain that at the death the gift will be reclaimed to the last farthing."

Children do not inherit from their father, but he may make presents to them in his lifetime.

Marriage customs in the Poggi Islands.

P. 213. **One such report reaches us from the Poggi or Pageh Islands.**—Some account of the Poggi Islanders is given by a Mr. John Crisp, who visited them from Sumatra in 1792. Though he testifies to the loose sexual relations which prevail among the unmarried, his evidence by no means confirms the statement that marriage is unknown in the islands. He says: "In marriages, the matter is settled between the parents of the young persons, and when agreed upon, the young man goes to the house of the bride, and takes her home; on this occasion a hog is generally killed, and a feast made. Polygamy is not allowed. In cases of adultery, where the wife is the offender, the injured husband has a right to seize the effects of the paramour, and sometimes punishes his wife by cutting off her hair. When the husband offends, the wife has

a right to quit him, and to return to her parents' house; but in this state of separation she is not allowed to marry another; however, in both these cases, the matter is generally made up, and the parties reconciled; and we were informed that instances of their occurrence were very unfrequent. Simple fornication between unmarried persons is neither a crime nor a disgrace: and a young woman is rather liked the better, and more desired in marriage, for having borne a child; sometimes they have two or three, when, upon a marriage taking place, the children are left with the parents of their mother."[1]

The accounts of other observers who have visited these islands tell still more strongly against the statement that marriage is unknown among the natives. Thus H. von Rosenberg, a Dutch official and traveller, who visited the islands in 1852, says indeed that "the intercourse between young men and girls is very free; if a girl is got with child, it in no way detracts from her good fame." But he immediately adds that "marriage takes the form of monogamy; the man obtains a wife for himself from her parents by purchase or better by bartering articles worth from fifty to a hundred gulden. Under no circumstances is divorce permitted. Adultery is punished with the death of both the culprits. If the husband dies, the widow may only marry a widower, and reciprocally a widower may marry none but a widow. The Mentawis are much addicted to jealousy and will not tolerate prostitution."[2] Another Dutch official, Mr. H. A. Mess, who visited the islands in 1869, has described the solemn marriage ceremony by which among these people, who are reported to be unacquainted with marriage, "bride and bridegroom proclaim that they are one till death and that till then they will be true to each other in life and in death."[3]

With these testimonies before us we may safely dismiss as a fable the statement that marriage is unknown in the Poggi Islands. It is strange that so learned and generally so well-informed a writer as the late Professor G. A. Wilken should have given currency to such a statement.

P. 216. **In Borneo . . . the Olo Ot (those of Koetei) . . . contract no marriage.**—The writer whom elsewhere Prof. G. A.

[1] John Crisp, "An Account of the Inhabitants of the Poggy Islands, lying off Sumatra," *Asiatick Researches*, vi. (London, 1801) pp. 87 *sq.* (8vo edition).

[2] H. von Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel* (Leipsic, 1878), p. 199. Mentawi or Mantawi is the name of the whole chain of islands of which the Poggi or Pageh Islands are the southern part.

[3] H. A. Mess, "De Mentaweieilanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1881) p. 91. However, the writer does not bear out H. von Rosenberg's view that among these islanders marriage is indissoluble; for he says that custom permits a man at any time to put away his wife for any cause.

Wilken cites as his authority for this statement[1] merely says: "The Orang Ot or Olo Ot carry on barter after the well known fashion of the Kooboo or Looboo in Sumatra and other similar primitive tribes in Celebes and elsewhere. They never shew themselves to Europeans; all that we know of them is hearsay. The Koeteineese relate that their Ot do not contract marriage, have no dwellings, and are hunted by them like the beasts of the wood."[2] It seems obvious that no weight whatever can be attached to such loose hearsay evidence.

Exogamous and totemic clans of the Bhils.

P. 219. **The Bhils . . . are divided into many exogamous and totemic clans.**—A fuller list of the totemic clans of the Bhils has lately been published in the *Ethnographical Survey* of India, from which I extract the following particulars. The tribe inhabits Western Malwa and the Vindhyan-Satpura region in the province known as Central India. The members of the tribe are dark-skinned, of low stature, and often thickset. In 1901 the total numbers of the tribe were about 207,000. They are a wandering people, subsisting largely on jungle fruits and roots and some common grains. Their usual abode is a mere shed of bamboos and matting thatched with leaves and grass. A few of them have been induced to settle down in somewhat better huts and to till the ground.[3] They are divided into no less than a hundred and twenty-two exogamous clans or septs. No man may marry a woman of his own clan or sept. "This prohibition is extended for three generations to any sept into which a man has already married. A man can also not marry into the sept from which his mother came for three generations, as the members of this sept are held to be brothers and sisters of such man. The same rule is extended to the septs of grandmothers, maternal and paternal."[4] A man may marry two sisters.[5] The septs are totemic and "the usual reverence appears to be paid to any object which is regarded as a sept totem, it being never destroyed or injured. Nor is its effigy ever tattooed on the body."[6] Among these totemic septs or clans may be noted the following:—[7]

Respect for the totem.

1. The Kanbi clan is said to be nicknamed after the *kanti* or *kalam* tree (*Stephegyne parvifolia*), because one of their ancestors climbed into it during the marriage ceremony. Members of the clan worship the *kalam* tree and will never cut it down.

[1] G. A. Wilken, *Over de Verwantschap en het Huwelijks- en Erfrecht bij de Volken van het Maleische Ras* (Amsterdam, 1893), p. 82 n.[1] (reprinted from *De Indische Gids* for May 1883).

[2] C. A. L. M. Schwaner, *Borneo, Beschrijving van het Stroomgebied van den Barito* (Amsterdam, 1853-1854), i. 231.

[3] *The Ethnographical Survey of the Central India Agency, Monograph No. 2, The Jungle Tribes of Malwa*, by Captain C. E. Luard (Lucknow, 1909), pp. 17, 33, 34, 37.

[4] *Op. cit.* pp. 18, 91-97.

[5] *Op. cit.* p. 19.

[6] *Op. cit.* p. 18.

[7] *Op. cit.* pp. 91-97.

2. The Katija clan takes its name from the dagger. At the beginning of the *bāna* ceremony a dagger is worshipped and is held by the bridegroom throughout the ceremony.

3. The Kishori clan takes its name from the *kishori* tree (*Butea frondosa*), which they worship at marriages. They never place its leaves on their heads.

4. The Kodia clan is called after the cowrie shell, and no woman of the clan wears cowries.

5. The Bhuria or Brown clan is said to have taken its name from an ancestor who went about covered with ashes. They worship a brown gourd and ashy coloured snakes, and they will neither eat such gourds nor kill such snakes.

6. The Bilwal clan is named after the *bel* tree (*Aegle marmelos*). They worship the *bel* tree and draw omens from its leaves at marriages.

7. The Ganawa clan is named after the *ganiar* tree (*Cochlospermum gossypium*). They worship it at marriages and never cut it.

8. The Garwal clan takes its name from the lizard called *garwal*. An effigy of the lizard made of flour is worshipped at marriages, and the real animal is never injured.

9. The Pargi clan worships the land crab (*kekdi*) at marriages and draw omens from it. They say that one of their ancestors was miraculously saved by a land crab.

10. The Parmar clan worships the goad (*parana*), and they draw a figure of it in turmeric on a wall at marriage.

11. The Chudadia clan is called after lac bangles (*chuda*). Lac bangles are worshipped at marriages, and no woman of the clan ever wears them.

12. The Changod clan is named after a bull's horn. They worship a bull's horn at weddings and never cut the horns of cattle.

13. The Maoda clan worships the earthenware dish called a *taodi*; if one of these vessels is broken they carefully collect the pieces and bury them.

14. The Palasia clan takes its name from the *palasia* (*Butea frondosa*) tree, which they worship at marriages and never cut.

15. The Bhagara clan is called after "pieces of bread" (*bhagra*). Such broken pieces of bread are distributed to all at the end of a wedding.

16. The Makwana clan is named after the spider (*makwa*). At marriages an effigy is made of a spider out of flour and worshipped.

17. The Mori clan derives its name from the peacock (*mor*). Members of this Peacock clan never molest the bird, and at a wedding they worship the effigy of a peacock.

18. The Munia clan is called after the *munj* or *moini* tree (*Odina Wodier*), which they worship at marriage and refuse to injure.

19. The Mena clan is named after *mena kodra*, a form of *kodon*

(*Pasapalum stoloniferum*), which, eaten in excess, is said to cause a form of intoxication. Members of the clan nowadays never eat *kodon*, but they worship balls of it at marriage.

20. The Suwaar clan is called after the wild boar. Members of this Boar clan never kill or eat pigs; and at weddings they make an effigy of a pig out of flour and worship it.

21. The Wakhla clan takes its name from the species of bat called a flying fox (*Pteropus medius*). Members of this Bat clan never hurt these bats.

22. The Jhala clan never sows *walri* grain; and they say that no member of the clan can eat the grain without suffering for it. They tell of a man who broke the taboo and whose body swelled in consequence, till he appeased his goddess with offering of *walri* grain. It seems that *walri* is not a particular kind of cereal but any kind of grain produced in ground which has been cleared by burning down trees.

Possible trace of conceptional totemism.

From the preceding account we gather that the Bhils pay respect to their totems above all at marriage. Why that should be so is not clear. Can it be that we have here a trace of conceptional totemism, of a belief that the totem will enter into and impregnate the bride?

Totemism among the Porojas.

P. 230. **Totemism in the Madras Presidency.**—Some further evidence on this subject may be cited from Mr. Edgar Thurston's valuable work on the ethnology of Southern India. The Porojas or Parjas are thrifty industrious cultivators, akin to the Khonds, among the hills of Ganjam and Vizagapatam.[1] They fall into several sections, among which are the Barang Jhodias, the Pengus, Khondis, Bondas, and Durs. "Among the Barang Jhodias, the *gidda* (vulture), *bagh* (tiger), and *nag* (cobra) are regarded as totems. Among the Pengu, Khondi, and Dur divisions, the two last are apparently regarded as such, and, in addition to them, the Bonda Porojas have *mandi* (cow). In the Barang Jhodia, Pengu, and Kondhi divisions, it is customary for a man to marry his paternal aunt's daughter, but he cannot claim her as a matter of right, for the principle of free love is recognised among them. The *dhangada* and *dhangadi basa* system, according to which bachelors and unmarried girls sleep in separate quarters in a village, is in force among the Porojas."[2] A younger brother usually marries his elder brother's widow.[3]

The Ronas.

The Ronas are a class of Oriya-speaking hill cultivators in Jeypore. They are supposed to be descended from Ranjit, the great warrior of Orissa. As examples of their clans or septs, which are presumably exogamous, Mr. Thurston cites *Kora* (sun), *Bhag*

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), vi. 207-210.

[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vi. 210.

[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vi. 215.

(tiger), *Nag* (cobra), *Khinbudi* (bear), and *Matsya* (fish). Among the Ronas it is customary for a man to marry the daughter of his father's brother; and a younger brother usually marries his elder brother's widow.[1]

The Saliyans are a Tamil-speaking class of weavers in Tanjore. Contrary to the custom of Tamil castes they are divided into exogamous clans or septs, which are apparently not totemic, though some of them are named after the black monkey (*mandhi*), the donkey (*kazhudhai*), the frog (*thavalai*), and *Euphorbia Tirucalli* (*kalli*).[2] The Saliyans.

The Togatas are Telugu weavers in the Cuddapah district. Like many other Telugu castes, they are divided into exogamous clans or septs, which take their names from, amongst other things, goat (*mekala*), horse (*gurram*), indigo (*nīli*), cummin seed (*jīlakara*), and *Chrysanthemum indicum* (*samanthi*).[3] The Togatas.

The Toreyas are a Canarese class who live chiefly in the Tamil districts of Coimbatore and Salem. Most of them are now cultivators, especially of the betel vine (*Piper betle*). There are many exogamous clans or septs among them, some of which observe totemic taboos. Thus members of the Silver (*belli*) clan may not wear toe-rings of silver; members of a clan, which takes its name (*onne*) from the tree *Pterocarpus marsupium*, may not mark their foreheads with the juice from the trunk of that tree; and members of a clan, which takes its name (*kuzhal*) from a flute played by shepherd boys and snake charmers, must throw away the remains of their food if they hear the sound of the flute while they are at a meal. Members of the Snake (*naga*) clan worship ant-hills at marriage, because ant-hills are the home of snakes.[4] The Toreyas.

The Tsakalas or Sakalas are the Washermen of the Telugu country, and they also act as torch-bearers and palanquin-bearers. Like other Telugu castes they are divided into exogamous clans or septs (*intiperu*). Members of the *Gummadi* clan do not cultivate or eat the fruit of the *gummadi* plant (*Cucurbita maxima*); members of the *Magili pula* clan (*gotra*) avoid the fruit of *Pandanus fascicularis*; and members of the *Thamballa* clan (*gotra*) may not eat sword beans (*Canavalia ensiformis*). A common clan is the Ant (*chīmala*) clan.[5] The Tsakalas.

P. 240. **Yenuga, elephant.**—Members of this Elephant (*yenuga*) clan will not touch ivory.[6]

P. 322. **A tribe of Assam . . . are the Garos.**—A recent monograph on the Garos by Major A. Playfair confirms the view, which

[1] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* (Madras, 1909), vi. 256-258.
[2] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vi. 277 *sq.*
[3] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 170, 172.
[4] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 176 *sq.*
[5] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 197-199.
[6] E. Thurston, *op. cit.* vii. 437.

Totemism among the Garos of Assam.

I have expressed in the text, that the Garo tribal subdivisions called "motherhoods" are totemic. According to Major Playfair, the Garos are divided into three exogamous septs or clans (*katchis*), which bear the names of Momin, Marak, and Sangma. The first of these clans is entirely confined to the branch of the Garos called the Akawes, who inhabit the whole of the northern hills and the plains at their foot; but the other two clans are distributed among all the geographical divisions of the tribe, no matter how much they may differ from one another in language and custom. The origin of the clans is obscure; at present they seem to be in process of subdividing into several new clans, which, however, have not yet attained independent rank. Further, the Garos are subdivided into a very large number of "motherhoods," of which the general name, according to Major Playfair, is *machong*. Descent of the "motherhoods" is naturally in the maternal line; a child belongs to its mother's *machong*, not to that of its father, whose family indeed is barely recognised. The origin of many of these "motherhoods" appears to be totemic; for the members of some of them trace their descent from the totemic animal, though they do not appear to treat the creature with respect or reverence. Thus the Rangsan "motherhood" of the Marak clan has for its totem the bear. The members of the clan say that they are descended from a he-bear who married a Marak woman and they are called "children of the bear." Again, the Naringre-dokru "mothe hood" of the Momin clan has for its totem the dove. The members of the clan say that they are descended from a naughty girl, who stuck feathers all over her body with wax and thereupon was turned into a dove. Again, the Drokgre "motherhood" of the Marak clan have the hen for their totem, because their ancestress had a wonderful ornament which could cluck for all the world like a hen. Again, the Koknal or Basket "motherhood" of the Sangma clan is so called because the ancestress or, as the Garos call her, the grandmother of the clan was carried off in a basket (*kok*) for the sake of her wealth; for she was a very rich old woman. Some "motherhoods" take their names from a stream or hill near which they settled. Whole families, we are told, probably broke away from their associates and formed new communities, assuming new names to distinguish them from the parent stock.[1]

Female descent of property among the Garos.

We have seen that among the Garos property descends through women. On this subject Major Playfair writes: "The system which divides the Garo tribe into certain clans and 'motherhoods,' the members of which trace back their descent to a common ancestress, and which has laid down that descent in the clan shall be through the mother and not through the father, also provides that

[1] Major A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909) pp. 64-66; as to the Akawes, see *id.* p. 59.

inheritance shall follow the same course, and shall be restricted to the female line. No man may possess property, unless he has acquired it by his own exertions. No man can inherit property under any circumstance whatever.

"The law of inheritance may be briefly stated to be, that property once in a motherhood cannot pass out of it. A woman's children are all of her *machong* ['motherhood'], and therefore it might at first appear that her son would satisfy the rule; but he must marry a woman of another clan, and his children would be of their mother's sept, so that, if he inherited his mother's property, it would pass out of her *machong* ['motherhood'] in the second generation. The daughter must therefore inherit, and her daughter after her, or, failing issue, another woman of the clan appointed by some of its members. . . .

"In spite of the above rule, during the lifetime of a woman's husband, he has full use of her property. He cannot will it away, but otherwise his authority with regard to it is unquestioned. For instance, a *nokma* [headman] is always looked upon as the owner of the lands of his village, and though he must have derived his rights through his wife, she is never considered, unless it is found convenient that her name should be mentioned in litigation. From this, it will be seen that matriarchy in the strict sense of the word does not exist among the Garos. A woman is merely the vehicle by which property descends from one generation to another."[1]

P. 327. **All the indications of totemism . . . in Assam.**—To the tribes of Assam which exhibit traces of totemism are to be added the Kacharis, a short, thickset race speaking a language of the Tibeto-Burman family, who inhabit the districts of Cachar Plains and North Cachar.[2] They are industrious and skilful cultivators of the soil and raise abundant crops of rice. From the investigations of the Rev. S. Endle, who lived amongst them for many years and knew them intimately, it appears that the Kacharis were formerly divided into very numerous totemic clans which, contrary to the usual rule of totemism, were endogamous instead of exogamous. Some of the clans still exist, but the restrictions once placed on their intermarriage are no longer in force. Amongst the Kachari clans recorded by Mr. Endle are the following:—[3]

Totemism among the Kacharis of Assam.

Endogamy of the clans.

1. *Swarga-aroi*, or the Heaven (*swarga*) folk. This clan is deemed the highest of all. None of its members ever worked as

The Heaven folk.

[1] Major A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), pp. 71 *sq.*

[2] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) pp. 159, 227.

[3] This account of the Kachari clans is derived from a monograph on the tribe by the Rev. S. Endle, which will shortly be published by the Government of Eastern Bengal. I am indebted to the kindness of Col. P. R. T. Gurdon and Mr. J. D. Anderson for permission to read and make extracts from the manuscript.

cultivators. They devoted themselves to the service of religion and were supported by the offerings of the faithful.

The Earth folk.

2. *Basumati-aroi* or the Earth (*basumati*) folk. The members of this clan enjoy a privilege peculiar to themselves in being allowed to bury their dead without buying the ground for a grave or for the erection of a funeral pyre.

The Tiger folk. Mourning for a tiger.

3. *Mosa-aroi* or the Tiger (*mosa*) folk. The members of this clan claim kindred with the tiger, and when a village inhabited by them hears of the death of a tiger in the neighbourhood, all the people must mourn. The period of mourning is indeed short, seldom exceeding twenty-four hours, but it is strictly observed, for no solid food whatever may be partaken of during its continuance. At the end of the mourning the floor and walls of every house must be carefully smeared with a compound of mud and cow-dung; all articles of clothing and all household utensils made of brass must be thoroughly cleansed in running water; and all earthenware vessels, except such as are new and have never been used for cooking, must be broken and thrown away. Then one of the elders of the community, acting as *deori* (minister) solemnly distributes the "water of peace" (*santi jal*) to be drunk by all in turn; and the buildings themselves, as well as all articles of clothing and so forth, are freely sprinkled with the same holy water. The solemnity ends with the sacrifice of a fowl or pig, which is partaken of by all in common.

4. *Khangkhlo-aroi* or the *Kangkhlo* folk. *Kangkhlo* is apparently the name of a jungle grass of which the Kacharis are very fond. It is used freely both at religious ceremonies and at merry-makings.

The Sesamum folk.

5. *Sibing-aroi* or the Sesamum (*sibing*) folk. This clan is said to have been the only one which in the olden days was allowed to cultivate the sesamum plant. The members of the clan still hold the plant in special honour.

The Leech folk.

6. *Gandret-aroi* or the Leech (*gandret*) folk. This clan holds the leech in high regard and may not under ordinary circumstances kill it. But at certain religious ceremonials, for example, at purification after a death in the family, its members are required to chew a leech with vegetables for a certain limited period, though apparently only once in a lifetime.

The Jute folk.

7. *Nárze-aroi* or the Jute (*nárze*) folk. This clan held jute in special honour, and at great religious ceremonies members of the clan were bound to chew a certain quantity of jute.

8. *Ding-aroi* or the Bamboo-water-vessel (*dinga*) folk. The members of this clan are said to have formerly earned their livelihood by making these bamboo water-vessels.

The Areca-palm folk.

9. *Goi-bári-aroi* or the Areca-palm (*goi*) folk. The clan was formerly devoted to the cultivation of the areca, of which perhaps they held the monopoly.

10. *Bánhbárá-roi* or the Bamboo-grove (*banhbari*) folk. Near many Kachari villages there is a sacred bamboo grove, where the gods are worshipped at certain seasons. The Bamboo-grove folk.

11. *Dhekiábári-aroi* or the Fern (*dhekiá*) folk. The totem of the clan was probably the fern, which is still sometimes used in the preparation of the *fatiká* spirit. The Fern folk.

12. *Maómará-roi* or the *Mao*-fish folk.

13. *Kherkhatha-roi* or the Squirrel (*kerketua*) folk. They are said to be a low caste. One of their functions is to cut the horns of cattle. The Squirrel folk.

Similar clans with corresponding names are found among the Meches, a people closely akin to the Kacharis.[1] But unlike the clans of the Kacharis the clans of the Meches are exogamous. The most important of them are the Tiger clan, the Bamboo clan. the Water clan, the Betel-nut clan, and the Heaven clan.[2]

But it is among the Dimasa of the North Cachar Hills and the Hojais of the Nowgong district that the subdivision into clans seems to attain its highest development. In this portion of the Kachari or Bara race some eighty clans are recognised, of which forty are known as men's clans (*sengfang*) and forty as women's clans (*zŭlu*).[3] All the members of these clans eat and drink freely together and are, or were, all strictly exogamous. The only clan exempt from this strict rule of exogamy was the so-called royal clan known as the Black Earth Folk (*Há-chum-sá*), all the members of which were obliged to marry within their own clan. We have seen that similarly in Africa royal clans are not infrequently endogamous.[4] The rule of marriage in the other clans seems to be that no man may marry into his mother's clan, and that no woman may marry into her father's clan. It is explained as follows by Mr. Soppitt, who calls the clans sects: "To give an example, one male sect is called Hasungsa, and one female sect Sagaodi. A Hasungsa marrying a Sagaodi, the male issue are Hasungsas and the female Sagaodis. The sons, Hasungsas, cannot marry any woman of the mother's caste or sect. In the same manner, the daughter can marry no man of her father's sect. Thus, though no blood tie exists, in many cases a marriage between certain persons is impossible, simply from the bar of sect. On the other hand, cousin-marriage is allowed. An example will best illustrate this: Two brothers, Hasungsas, marry women of the Pasaidi and Sagaodi sect, and have as issue a daughter and a boy. The boy will be a Hasungsa and the girl Sagaodi. These first cousins cannot marry,

Exogamous clans of the Dimasa.

Endogamy of the royal clan.

[1] As to the Meches, see *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 228.

[2] From the Rev. S. Endle's manuscript.

[3] According to another account there are forty men's clans and forty-two women's clans. See *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 226.

[4] See above, vol. ii. pp. 523 *sq.*, 538, 581 *sq.*, 628.

both fathers having been Hasungsa. But allowing the first cousins marry Bangali wife and Rajiung husband, respectively, their children are Hasungsa (the boy) and Sagaodi, and may contract marriage ties, the male having no Sagaodi sect in his family. The term Semfong is used to denote the members of one of the sects."[1] From this account we gather that first cousins, the children of two brothers, are forbidden to marry each other; but that second cousins, the children of a male first cousin and of a female first cousin, may marry each other.

The sororate and levirate.

As a rule the Kacharis are a strictly monogamous race, chaste before marriage and faithful to their spouses after it. A widower may marry his deceased wife's younger sister, but not her elder sister. Similarly a widow may marry her deceased husband's younger brother, but not his elder brother.[2] "The matriarchate is unknown, and the father is an extremely good-natured and easy-going head of a contented and simple family. The tribes are mostly endogamous, if the expression can be used of people who marry very much as European peasants do. There is no child-marriage, and prenuptial chastity is the rule rather than the exception. There are signs to show that marriage by capture was once the rule; but nowadays marriages are the result of an elopement, followed by the payment of a fine to the girl's relatives, or of a definite arrangement between the parents of the young people, which results in a present offered to the bride's parents, or else a term of service on the bridegroom's part in his father-in-law's house."[3]

Communal house for young people of both sexes among the hill tribes of Assam.

P. 328. **Large common houses in which the unmarried men pass the night.**—Sometimes in the Naga and other hill tribes of Assam and its neighbourhood there are communal houses for unmarried girls as well as for bachelors. A Naga village or town will sometimes contain as many as eight or ten communal houses or *pahs*, as they are called by some tribes, for the bachelors, and four or five such houses for the girls. The houses of the girls are

[1] *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, vol. i. (Shillong, 1892) p. 226. From this account we infer that a men's clan or sect includes only men, and that a women's clan or sect includes only women. But Mr. Endle's account, given above (p. 299), seems to imply that each clan includes both sexes; at least this must be true of the royal clan, which is endogamous. The subject deserves further investigation.

[2] From the Rev. S. Endle's manuscript.

[3] J. D. Anderson, *s.v.* "Bodos," in Dr. J. Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, ii. (Edinburgh, 1909) p. 754. The term "Bodo" is a generic name applied to all peoples speaking the Tibetan-Burman group of languages. So Mr. Anderson's remarks, which I have quoted in the text, apply to other tribes besides the Kacharis. To the list of clans Mr. Anderson adds the *Siju-ārŭi* or Cactus (*siju*) clan. The cactus (the *Euphorbia*) is sacred. It grows in the courtyard of every Kachari family. See *Census of India, 1891, Assam*, by E. A. Gait, i. 224.

looked after by an old woman; they are strictly tabooed to married women. Where the institution of these communal houses exists for the unmarried youth, the most complete license is reported to prevail between the sexes up to the time of marriage, and this license is not merely connived at, it is recognised by public opinion. No value is placed on youthful chastity; sexual morality in our sense of the word only begins with marriage, but after marriage infidelity is said to be very rare. Nevertheless children are very seldom born until after marriage; should several girls be found with child, their nuptials are arranged for and all parties are generally content. The communal houses or barracks of the bachelors always stand at the entrance to the village and serve as guard-houses; guards are set here by day and night and keep tally of all the men who leave the village or return to it. In the unsettled condition of the country such precautions are, or used to be, necessary to prevent sudden attacks by neighbouring enemies.[1]

Exogamous peoples of Asia.

P. 347. **Hints of totemism and exogamy . . . in Asia.**—To the exogamous peoples of Asia mentioned in the text should be added the Circassians, Ossetes, Ostyaks, and apparently the Kalmucks, as J. F. McLennan and Dr. Westermarck have already pointed out.[2]

Exogamy among the Circassians.

Thus in regard to the Circassians we read: "The Circassian word for the societies or fraternities is *tleûsh*, which signifies also 'seeds.' The tradition with regard to them is, that the members of each all sprang from the same stock or ancestry; and thus they may be considered as so many septs or clans, with this peculiarity —that, like seeds, all are considered equal. These cousins-german, or members of the same fraternity, are not only themselves interdicted from intermarrying, but their serfs too must wed with the serfs of another fraternity; and where, as is generally the case, many fraternities enter into one general bond, this law, in regard to marriage, must be observed by all. All who are thus bound together have the privilege of visiting the family-houses of each other on the footing of brothers, which seems to me only to make matters worse, unless they can all bring their minds to look upon the females of their fraternity as their very sisters, otherwise this privilege of *entrée* must be the source of many a hopeless or criminal passion. We have here under our eyes a proof that such consequences must proceed from the prohibition. The confidential dependant or steward of our host here is a tokav who fled to his

[1] S. E. Peal, "On the *Morong* as possibly a Relic of Pre-marriage Communism," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxii. (1893) pp. 244, 248 *sq.*, 253-255, 259 *sq.* Compare H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde* (Berlin, 1902), pp. 278 *sqq.*

[2] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 52 *sqq.*; E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), pp. 305 *sq.*

protection from Notwhatsh; because, having fallen in love with and married a woman of his own fraternity, he had become liable to punishment for this infraction of Circassian law. Yet his fraternity contained perhaps several thousand members. Formerly such a marriage was looked upon as incest, and punished by drowning; now a fine of two hundred oxen, and restitution of the wife to her parents, are only exacted. The breaches of this law therefore are not now uncommon."[1]

Incest formerly punished with death.

Exogamy among the Ossetes.

The Ossetes of the Caucasus are divided into families or clans, each of which traces its descent from a male ancestor and bears a common name. These clans appear to be exogamous, for we are told that "the father may marry his daughter-in-law, the brother may marry his sister-in-law, the son may marry his mother's sister: in that there is nothing illegitimate or contrary to custom. But to marry a wife of the same clan and name, were she even in the remotest degree related, is reckoned by the Ossetes to be incest."[2]

Exogamy among the Ostyaks.

The writer who records these customs of the Ossetes adds: "It is highly remarkable that precisely the same customs and ideas as to relationship prevail among the Ostyak people. They also never marry a woman of their father's kin, never a woman of the same family name; but they may marry even a step-mother, a step-daughter, or a step-sister; indeed they have a specially partiality for the last of these marriages."[3]

Exogamy among the Kalmucks.

The practice of the Kalmucks is described by J. F. McLennan as follows: "It appears that they have two systems of marriage law; one for the common people, and one for the nobles, or princely class. The common people, we are told by Bergmann, enter into no unions in which the parties are not distant from one another by three or four degrees: but how the degrees are counted we are not informed. We are told that they have great abhorrence for the marriages of near relatives, and have a proverb—'The great folk and dogs know no relationship,'—which Bergmann says is due to members of the princely class sometimes marrying sisters-in-law. We find, however, that these sisters-in-law are uniformly women of an entirely different stock from their husbands—different, or what is taken for different. For no man of the princely class . . . in any of the tribes can marry a woman of his own tribe or nation. Not only must his wife be a noble, but she must be a noble of a different stock. For princely marriages, says Bergmann, 'the bride is chosen from another people's stock—among the Derbets from the Torgot stock; and among the Torgots from the Derbet stock; and so on.' Here, then, we have the principle of

[1] J. S. Bell, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia* (London, 1840), i. 347 *sq.*

[2] Von Haxthausen, *Transkaukasia* (Leipsic, 1856), ii. 26 *sq.*

[3] Von Haxthausen, *op. cit.* ii. 27 note*, citing as his authority Müller, *Der ugrische Volksstamm*, i. 308.

exogamy in full force in regard to the marriages of the governing classes."[1]

Mutual avoidance of relations by marriage among the Herero.

Pp. 367 *sq.* **Mutual avoidance between persons related by marriage is observed by the Herero.**—As an example of the care with which a Herero avoids his future mother-in-law we are told that once when a missionary was preaching at a kraal, the future mother-in-law of one of his hearers hove in sight. At this apparition the young man flung himself to the ground, and his friends hastily covered him up with skins, under which he had to lie sweating till his formidable relative withdrew.[2] A few other examples of similar customs of avoidance observed by various African tribes may be added here. Amongst the Amapondas "it is considered highly indelicate for a woman to marry a man of the same kraal to which she belongs, or for a married woman to look on the face of any of her husband's male relations. If she observes any of these relations approaching, she turns aside, or hides herself until they have passed."[3] Amongst the Matabele a married woman may neither speak to nor even look at her husband's father, and her husband must be equally reserved towards his wife's mother.[4] A similar reserve is practised by the tribes of the Tanganyika plateau.[5] Amongst the Angoni it would be a gross breach of etiquette if a man were to enter his son-in-law's house; he may come within ten paces of the door, but no nearer. A woman may not even approach her son-in-law's house, and she is never allowed to speak to him. Should they meet accidentally on a path, the son-in-law gives way and makes a circuit to avoid encountering his mother-in-law face to face.[6] Among the Donaglas a husband after marriage "lives in his wife's house for a year, without being allowed to see his mother-in-law, with whom he enters into relations only on the birth of his first son."[7]

Religion of the Bawenda.

P. 377. **The Bawenda are a Bantu people.**—The religion of the Bawenda has been described by other writers, but their accounts contain no clear indications of totemism. The Rev. E. Gottschling says that "the Bawenda have their nameless *Modzimo* (God), which is nothing else but the totality of the good souls of their ancestors, who have not been *valoi*, with the founder of their tribe as head,

[1] J. F. McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History* (London, 1886), pp. 52 *sq.* McLennan's authority is B. Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmüken in den Jahren 1802 und 1803* (Riga, 1804-1805), iii. 145 *sq.*, a passage of which the substance is correctly conveyed in the text.

[2] G. Viehe, "Some Customs of the Ovaherero," (*South African*) *Folk-lore Journal*, vol. i. (1879) pp. 46 *sq.*; H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 172.

[3] Andrew Steedman, *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London, 1835), i. 241 *sq.*

[4] L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 159.

[5] L. Decle, *op. cit.* p. 294.

[6] "The Angoni-Zulus," *British Central Africa Gazette*, No. 86, April 30th, 1898, p. 2.

[7] G. Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria* (London and New York, 1891), i. 69.

and the ruling chief as living representative. Besides this *Modzimo*, of which the plural is *Vadzimo*, meaning the single souls of their ancestors, they also have *Medzimo*, another plural of *Modzimo*, which denotes the many objects on earth which have been made the visible representative of the ancestors of each clan and family. These *Medzimo*, into which sometimes the *Vadzimo* return, are either cattle, goats, sheep, or weapons and tools of old dead ancestors, as for instance a *dzembe* (kaffir-hoe), a *pfumo* (assegai), a *tzanga* (war-axe), a *mbado* (axe) and other tools. Even shrubs, flowers, or rushes may be created *Medzimo*."[1] It might be rash to infer that these *Medzimo* are totems.

Question of Bechuana exogamy.

P. 378. **Whether the tribes are also exogamous is not stated by the authorities I have consulted.**—However, speaking of the Bechuana tribes, Captain C. R. Conder observes: "Levirate marriage exists as among the Zulus, and exogamy seems the common practice, resulting in a great mixture of tribal relations."[2] But not much weight can be attached to this vague and hesitating statement. The question whether the Bechuana tribes or clans are exogamous or not must still be regarded as open.

Zulu superstitions as to food.

P. 381. **Superstitious prejudices against eating certain foods.**—According to another writer, among the foods which Zulu prejudice or superstition rejects are wild boar, rhinoceros, and especially fish. A special term of contempt (*omphogazane*) is applied to persons who have partaken of these forbidden viands. Further, the Zulus think that any man who made use of the inner fat of the elan (*Boselaphus oreas*) would infallibly lose his virility. Moreover, a woman would fear to let her husband come near her, if she knew that he had so much as touched with his finger a python, a crocodile, or a hyæna.[3] Again, the great African hornbill (*Buceros africanus*) and the crowned crane (*Balearica pavonina*) are both deemed sacred by the Caffres; and if a man has killed one of these birds, he must sacrifice a calf or a young ox by way of expiation.[4] But these superstitions, being apparently common to whole tribes, are probably quite independent of totemism.

P. 441. **The hyæna . . . most tribes of East Africa hold that**

[1] Rev. E. Gottschling, "The Bawenda," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxxv. (1905) pp. 378 *sq.* As to these Bawenda talismans, supposed to contain ancestral spirits, see further an article, "Das Volk der Vawenda, Auszug aus dem Bericht des Missionar Beuster," *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xiv. (1879) p. 238.

[2] Captain C. R. Conder, "The Present Condition of the Native Tribes in Bechuanaland," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887) p. 85.

[3] A. Delegorgue, *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe* (Paris, 1847), ii. 225 *sq.*

[4] Andrew Steedman, *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London, 1835), i. 236.

animal in respect or fear.—The Bageshu on Mount Elgon and the Wanyamwezi to the south of the Victoria Nyanza are in the habit of throwing out their dead to the hyænas. Hence they both regard these animals as sacred, and the cry of a hyæna in the evening is often said to be the voice of the last person who died. The Wanyamwezi say that they could not kill a hyæna, because they do not know whether the creature might not be a relation of theirs, an aunt, or a grandmother, or what not.[1] But this general reverence for a species of animal, because it is supposed to lodge the souls of the dead, is not by itself totemism.

P. 469. **The Queen Sister (*Lubuga*) has also her own establishment . . . she rules her own people and is called a king.**—The remarkable position occupied by the Queen Sister in Uganda has its parallel among the Barotse or Marotse, an important Bantu tribe on the Upper Zambesi. In the Barotse country, we read, "there are two capitals, Lealouyi and Nalolo. The first of these, a large village of about three thousand inhabitants, is the residence of the king Leouanika; Nalolo is the residence of the king's eldest sister. Like him, she has the title of *morena*, which means 'lord,' 'king,' or 'queen,' without distinction of sex. She is sometimes also called *mokouae* or 'princess,' a general term applicable to all the women of the royal family, but the *mokouae* of Nalolo is the most important of all. She alone reigns in concert with the king and shares with him the title of *morena*. The same honours that are paid to him are paid to her, and she keeps the same state. Like him, she has her *khotla*, where she sits surrounded by her councillors and chiefs of the tribe. Lastly, she also receives taxes from the most distant parts of the kingdom. Both of them have handsome rectangular houses, very large and high, which form conspicuous features of the landscape."[2] The Queen Sister among the Barotse.

The existence of this double kingship, a male kingship and a female kingship, in two important Bantu peoples is very remarkable, all the more so, as the writer observes, because in Africa woman generally occupies an inferior position. Yet among the Barotse "this queen is quite independent of her brother. In fact there are two kingdoms quite distinct from each other. But they are closely united, and it often happens that persons are transferred from the service of the king to that of the queen, or reciprocally. Many sons of the chiefs bred at the court of Lealouyi have become vassals of the queen, or on the contrary young people of Nalolo are sent to the king. Messengers are constantly coming and going between the two capitals, in order that the king and queen may be kept informed of what is happening in the country. Finally, most of the Double kingship.

[1] From information given me by the Rev. John Roscoe.

[2] E. Béguin, *Les Ma-rotsé* (Lausanne and Fontaines, 1903), p. 12.

families at the two capitals are related to each other and often pay each other visits."[1]

The Prince Consort.

The Queen Sister has a husband chosen by herself, who ranks as Prince Consort. He is her representative and man of business; he must salute her humbly like a slave, and when she goes out he walks behind her. Formerly he might not even sit on the same mat with her or share her meals; but of late years the rigour of the custom has been somewhat relaxed, and the "son-in-law of the nation," as the Queen Sister's husband is called, has not to put up with so many affronts as in past days.[2]

The high rank thus assigned to the king's sister in the polity of the Barotse as in the polity of the Baganda seems to point to a system of mother-kin, whether present or past; and we have seen that among the Baganda vestiges of mother-kin may still be detected.[3]

Worship of the dead kings of the Barotse.

P. 469. **The royal tomb (*mulalo*) is the abode of the king's ghost.**—With the worship which the Baganda pay to their dead kings we may compare the similar worship which the Barotse or Marotse of the Upper Zambesi River pay to their departed monarchs. The Barotse recognise a supreme deity called Niambe, who is supposed to reside in the sun, but they reserve their devotions chiefly for the inferior deities, the so-called *ditino*, the spirits of their dead kings, whose tombs may be seen near the villages which they inhabited in their life. Each tomb stands in a grove of beautiful trees and is encircled by a tall palisade of pointed stakes, covered with fine mats. Such an enclosure is sacred; the people are forbidden to enter it lest they should disturb and annoy the ghost of the dead king who sleeps there in his grave. But the inhabitants of the nearest village are charged with the duty of keeping the tomb and the enclosure in good order, repairing the palisade, and replacing the mats when they are worn out. Once a month, at the new moon, the women sweep not only the grave and the enclosure but the whole village. The guardian of the tomb is at the same time a priest; he acts as intermediary between the god and the people who come to pray to him. He bears the title of Ngomboti; he alone has the right to enter the sacred enclosure; the profane multitude must stand at a respectful distance. Even the king himself, when he comes to consult one of his ancestors, is forbidden to set foot on the holy ground. In presence of the god or, as they call him, the Master of the Tomb, the monarch must bear himself like a slave in the presence of his master. He kneels down near the entrance, claps his hands, and gives the royal salute; and from within the enclosure the priest returns the salute just as the king himself, when he holds his court, returns the salute of his subjects.

The king's tomb.

The king's prophet.

[1] E. Béguin, *Les Ma-Rotsé* (Lausanne and Fontaines, 1903), pp. 100 *sq.*

[2] E. Béguin, *op. cit.* p. 101.

[3] See above, vol. iii. pp. 512 *sq.*

Then the suppliant, whether king or commoner, makes his petition to the deity and deposits his offering; for no man may pray to the god with empty hands. Inside the enclosure, close to the entrance, is a hole which is supposed to serve as a channel of communication with the spirit of the deified king. In it the offerings are placed. Often they consist of milk which is poured into the hole; and the faster it drains away and is absorbed, the more favourable is the god supposed to be to the petitioner. When the offerings are more solid and durable, such as flesh, cloths, and glass beads, they become the property of the priest after having been allowed to lie for a decent time beside the sacred orifice of the tomb. The spirits of the dead kings are thus consulted on matters of public concern as well as by private individuals touching their own affairs. If a war is to be waged, if a plague is raging among the people or a murrain among the cattle, if the land is parched with drought, in short if any danger threatens or any calamity has afflicted the country, recourse is had to these local gods, dwelling each in his shady grove, not far from the abodes of the living. They are near, but the great god in heaven is far away. What wonder, therefore, that their help is often sought while he is neglected? Their history is remembered; men tell of the doughty deeds they did in their lifetime; why should they not be able to succour their votaries now that they have put on immortality? All over the country these temple-tombs may be seen. They serve as historical monuments to recall to the people the annals of their country. One of the most popular of the royal shrines is near Senanga at the southern end of the great plain of the Barotse. Voyagers who go down the Zambesi do not fail to pay their devotions at the shrine, that the god of the place may make their voyage to prosper and may guard the frail canoe from shipwreck in the rush and roar of the rapids; and when they return in safety they repair again to the sacred spot to deposit a thank-offering for the protection of the deity.[1]

Offerings to the dead kings.

The spirits of the kings consulted as oracles.

P. 513. **In the history of institutions the authority of the maternal uncle. . . . as a rule precedes that of the father.**—This view is not novel. Dr. Westermarck has discussed it, and has attempted, not very successfully, to shew how the position of authority occupied by the maternal uncle in early society is consistent with his theory of a primitive patriarchal family.[2]

P. 523. **The king regularly marrying his own sister.**—The custom of marrying their sisters appears to be common with African kings. Thus with regard to Kasongo, the king of Urua, it is reported by Commander V. L. Cameron that "his principal wife and the four or five ranking next to her are all of royal blood, being

Marriage of African kings with their sisters.

[1] E. Béguin, *Les Ma-Rotsé* (Lausanne and Fontaines, 1903), pp. 118-123.

[2] E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London, 1891), pp. 39 *sqq.*

either his sisters or first-cousins; and amongst his harem are to be found his step-mothers, aunts, sisters, nieces, cousins, and, still more horrible, his own children."[1] And the same traveller tells us of another chief whose principal wife was his sister.[2]

Totemism among the Bushongo or Bakuba.

P. 625. **The Bakuba or Bushongo Tribe.**—Fuller details as to the totemic system of this and kindred tribes have since been furnished to me through the kindness of Mr. T. A. Joyce of the British Museum. The Bushongo (incorrectly called the Bakuba) tribe inhabits the Kasai District of the Congo Free State. I will subjoin Mr. Joyce's account of Bushongo totemism in his own words:—

"An important institution is that of *ikina bari*, which appears to be a decayed form of totemism. The word *ikina* means a prohibition, and the *ikina bari* must be distinguished from the *ikina nyimi* or Royal Prohibitions (analogous to our Ten Commandments), which are taught at the *tuki mbula* initiation ceremonies. The origin of the *ikina bari* is said to be as follows. When Bumba (the Creator) had finished the work of creation, he travelled through the villages of men and pointed out to each some animal which he forbade the inhabitants to eat; some villages were omitted, and the inhabitants of these in consequence have no *ikina*. His object in imposing these prohibitions is said to be 'in order to teach men self-denial.' If a man has as *ikina* the leopard, he may neither eat leopards nor any animal killed by a leopard. At the same time the *ikina* is not held sacred, since no particular respect is paid to it, and it may be killed by the individual who acknowledges it as his *ikina*. A man will indicate his *ikina* in the following words: *Iji kweme kanya lotuma* (supposing that his *ikina* is the bird *lotumu*). These words belong to the obsolete Lumbila language, and their exact meaning is lost. Breach of the prohibition entails sickness and death.

"The *ikina bari* is inherited from the father, and a wife will adopt the *ikina* of her husband; the *ikina* of the mother is observed to a certain extent, but not so strictly, and is certainly not transmitted further than one generation. The *ikina* of the *nyimi* (paramount chief) is respected by all his subjects, and, of course, varies from ruler to ruler. The skin or feathers of the *ikina* may be worn as ornaments.

"At the present day the inhabitants of a given village do not necessarily respect the same *ikina*, and the same *ikina* occur in different villages and subtribes. There is no connection between the tribal name and the *ikina*.

"It was said at first that a man might marry a woman who had

[1] V. L. Cameron, *Across Africa* (London, 1877), ii. 70.

[2] V. L. Cameron, *op. cit.* ii. 149.

the same *ikina* as himself, but further enquiries among the older folk elicited the fact that as recently as one generation ago such unions were absolutely forbidden. Exogamy.

"A man who has no *ikina bari* is said to be 'like a wild beast which eats everything,' and is not considered a pure-bred Bushongo. New *ekina* are constituted even at the present day, and in the following way. Suppose a hunter has killed a guinea-fowl, and a dispute arises relative to its distribution between him and his companions. Perhaps he may fly into a rage and say, 'Take the bird for yourselves, I will not touch it!' and go off in a rage. Shortly afterwards he dies, and his ghost haunts the village, causing many deaths. The cause of the epidemic remains a mystery, until some old man will say, 'It is the ghost of so-and-so, who died in anger over a guinea-fowl. Let us make the guinea-fowl *ikina* and refrain from eating its flesh.' This is done, and the ghost ceases to trouble the village as long as the *ikina* is observed. Institution of new totems.

"The inheritance of rank and property is in the female line, not in the male line, as is the case with the *ikina*. A man's heir in the first instance is his eldest surviving brother; in reversion, eldest surviving son of eldest sister by same father and mother; in second reversion, eldest surviving sons of sisters in order of age of latter, and so on." Inheritance of property.

P. 630. **When a wife has borne two children, her husband deserts her and takes a new wife.**—In antiquity a similar custom is said to have been observed by the Tapyri, a Parthian tribe. Strabo reports that it was customary with them to give away a wife to another husband as soon as she had borne two or three children.[1] Temporary marriages.

[1] Strabo, xi. 9. 1.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME III

Anomalous terms for cousins in some North American Indian tribes, indicating extended marital rights.

P. 70. **But in regard to cousins, the children of a brother and sister respectively, the Miami system presents a remarkable feature.**—It will be seen from the text that under the Miami system and also under the Shawnee and Omaha systems [1] a man calls his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's brother, "my mother," and she calls him "my son." This is just the converse of what happens under the Minnetaree and Choctaw systems, under which a man calls his cousins, the children of his mother's brother "my son" and "my daughter," and they call him "my father." [2] Now we have seen [3] that these Minnetaree and Choctaw terms for cousins are intelligible on the hypothesis that among these tribes in former times, as among the Barongo at present, a man had marital rights over the wife of his mother's brother, or, in other words, that a nephew might enjoy the wife of his maternal uncle, for in that case her children might actually be his. Or, to change the terms, a woman's children might really be the offspring of her husband's nephew (the son of his sister), since that nephew had the right of access to her. If that is so we may by analogy conjecture that the converse nomenclature for certain cousins among the Miamis, Shawnees, and Omahas is explicable by a converse custom, which permitted a man to exercise marital rights over his wife's niece, the daughter of her brother, or, in other words, which placed a woman at the disposal of her paternal aunt's (father's sister's) husband. Thus, whereas under the Minnetaree and Choctaw system a man was apparently allowed to enjoy the wife of his maternal uncle (mother's brother), under the Miami, Shawnee, and Omaha system he was allowed to enjoy his wife's niece, the daughter of her brother. Hence, if these extensions of marital rights can be described as an advantage, then in the former case the advantage was with the nephew at the expense of his maternal uncle;

[1] See above, vol. iii. pp. 74, 116.

[2] See above, vol. iii. pp. 149, 175 *sq.* With the Minnetaree and Choctaw systems the Creek system agrees so far as concerns the terms "son" and "daughter" which a man applies to his cousins, the children of his mother's brother. See above, vol. iii. p. 165.

[3] See above, vol. ii. pp. 510 *sq.*

in the latter case the advantage was with the niece at the expense of her paternal aunt. In the one case a man was allowed access to a woman presumably in the generation above him; in the other he was allowed access to a woman presumably in the generation below him. But it is possible that these curious names for cousins are to be explained otherwise: I have only indicated one possible solution of the problem.

P. 155. **Totemism among the Gulf Nations.**—To the totemic tribes described under this head in the text are to be added the Yuchi Indians, of whom a full account has lately been published by Mr. F. G. Speck.[1] The following account of the tribe and its totemic system is derived from his book. Totemism among the Yuchi Indians.

The Yuchis formerly inhabited the banks of the Savannah River, which now divides the States of Georgia and South Carolina. There they dwelt at an early time in contact with a southern band of Shawnees and near the seats of the Cherokees, the Catawbas, the Santees, and the Yamasis. These four tribes and the Yuchis all speak languages which differ fundamentally from each other. It is unusual to find five languages belonging to different stocks within so restricted an area on the eastern side of the Mississippi. After fruitless efforts to resist the pressure of the Creek confederacy the Yuchis finally made peace and joined the league.[2] The remnant of the tribe, numbering about five hundred, is now settled with the rest of the Creek Indians, in the state of Oklahoma, whither they were removed in 1836.[3] At all times, so far as tradition runs back, the Yuchis have been mainly tillers of the soil, living in settled villages and only hunting when the state of the crops allowed them to absent themselves from home for a while. Among the crops which they raised were corn, beans, sweet potatoes, melons, pumpkins, squashes, and tobacco. When the corn and other vegetables had been gathered in, they were stored for use in outhouses and cribs raised on posts. The principal animals hunted for their flesh were the deer, bison, bear, raccoon, opossum, rabbit, and squirrel; while the panther, wild cat, fox, wolf, otter, beaver, and skunk were killed chiefly for the sake of their skins. The game animals were deemed very wise and very wary; in order to catch them it was needful to chant certain magic spells, of which the burdens were known to the shamans.[4] The Yuchis.

The Yuchis are or were divided into a considerable number of exogamous and totemic clans with descent in the maternal line: in other words, no man might marry a woman of his own totemic clan Totemic clans of the Yuchis.

[1] Franck G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, Philadelphia, 1909 (*University of Pennsylvania, Anthropological Publications of the University Museum*, vol. i. No. 1).

[2] F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, p. 6.

[3] F. G. Speck, *op. cit.* p. 9.

[4] F. G. Speck, *op. cit.* pp. 18 *sq.*

and children belonged to the clan of their mother, not of their father. The prohibition of marriage within the clan is very strict: a violation of the rule is regarded as incest. But a man is free to marry a woman of any clan but his own.[1] The names of twenty clans have been recorded as follows:—[2]

1. Bear.	2. Wolf.	3. Deer.	4. Tortoise.
5. Panther.	6. Wildcat.	7. Fox.	8. Wind.
9. Fish.	10. Beaver.	11. Otter.	12. Raccoon.
13. Skunk.	14. Opossum.	15. Rabbit.	16. Squirrel.
17. Turkey.	18. Eagle.	19. Buzzard.	20. Snake.

The account which Mr. Speck gives of the relationship in which the Yuchis believe themselves to stand to their totems is instructive and all the more valuable because, as I have had occasion repeatedly to point out, American writers on totemism so often say little or nothing about this fundamental side of the institution. I will therefore quote Mr. Speck's explanations nearly entire. He says: "The members of each clan believe that they are the relatives and, in some vague way, the descendants of certain pre-existing animals whose names and identity they now bear. The animal ancestors are accordingly totemic. In regard to the living animals, they, too, are the earthly types and descendants of the pre-existing ones, hence, since they trace their descent from the same sources as the human clans, the two are consanguinely related.

Descent from the totem.

"This brings the various clan groups into close relationship with various species of animals, and we find accordingly that the members of each clan will not do violence to wild animals having the form and name of their totem. For instance, the Bear clan never molest bears, but nevertheless they use commodities made from parts of the bear. Such things, of course, as bear hides, bear meat or whatever else may be useful, are obtained from other clans who have no taboo against killing bears. In the same way the Deer people use parts of the deer when they have occasion to, but do not directly take part in killing deer. In this way a sort of amnesty is maintained between the different clans and different kinds of animals, while the blame for the injury of animals is shifted from one clan to the other. General use could consequently be made of the animal kingdom without obliging members of any clan to be the direct murderers of their animal relatives.

Respect for the totem.

"In common usage the clan is known collectively by its animal name: the men of the Panther clan calling themselves Panthers, those of the Fish clan, Fish, and so on through the list. The

[1] F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, pp. 70, 71, 95.

[2] F. G. Speck, *op. cit.* p. 71. Mr. Speck's informants were not agreed as to the last three clans (the Eagle, the Buzzard, and the Snake).

totemic animals are held in reverence, appealed to privately in various exigencies, and publicly worshipped during the annual ceremony. . . .

Initiation of young men.

"The young man or boy in the course of his adolescence reaches a period when he is initiated into the rank of manhood in his town. This event is connected with totemism. For from the time of his initiation he is believed to have acquired the protection of his clan totem. Thenceforth he stands in a totemic relation similar to the young man of the plains tribe who has obtained his 'medicine.' Here in the Southeast, however, the 'medicine' is not represented by a concrete object, but is the guiding influence of a supernatural being. The earthly animals nevertheless are believed in many cases to possess wisdom which may be useful to human beings, so the different clans look to their animal relatives for aid in various directions. Among the tribes of the plains, however, each man has an individual guardian spirit, which is not necessarily the same as his gens totem."[1]

Comparison of Yuchi totemism with Central Australian totemism.

The foregoing account of Yuchi totemism suggests several observations. While the blood relationship supposed to exist between the clanspeople and their totemic animals is typical of totemism, the cynical understanding between the clans to kill each other's totems for their mutual benefit is unusual, and reminds us of the practice of the Central Australian aborigines, who multiply their totemic animals by magic in order that the creatures may be eaten by others.[2] On the other hand, the appeals made to the totemic animals in time of need and the dances performed in their honour seem to indicate an incipient worship or religion of the totems.

Resemblance of Yuchi totems to guardian spirits.

Lastly, the belief that a young man acquires the protection of his clan totem by means of initiation at puberty strongly resembles, as Mr. Speck points out, the belief of many other American Indians that a youth obtains a personal guardian spirit of his own through dreams at puberty. The resemblance draws still closer the analogy which we have already traced between the totem of the clan and the guardian spirit of the individual.[3]

Totemic dances.

The dances in honour of the totems are danced by the Yuchis at the great annual festival which celebrates the ripening of the corn and the first solemn eating of the new fruits. In these dances the dancers mimick the actions and cries of their totemic animals and even seem to believe that for the time being they are identical with the creatures. However, no imitative costumes or masks are now used, nor could Mr. Speck ascertain that they ever had been in use.

The sacred new fire.

Other features of this yearly celebration are the observance of certain taboos, the kindling of a new and sacred fire, the scarification of men, the taking of an emetic, and the performance of the

[1] F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, pp. 70 *sq.*

[2] See vol. i. pp. 104 *sqq.*

[3] See above, vol. iii. pp. 450 *sqq.*

ball game. A feast on the new corn follows the taking of the emetic.[1]

Classificatory system of relationship among the Yuchis.

From an incomplete list of kinship terms recorded by Mr. Speck we may gather that the Yuchis have the classificatory system of relationship. Thus a man calls his mother's sister "my little mother"; he calls his father's brother and also his mother's brother "my little father"; and he calls his female cousin, the daughter of his mother's sister, "my sister."[2]

Clans of the Timucua Indians.

P. 167. **The Seminole Indians of Florida.**—From the account of an old Franciscan monk, Francesco Pareja, who went to Florida in 1593 and founded the monastery of St. Helena to the north of St. Augustine, we learn that the Timucua Indians of that province were divided into stocks or clans which took their names variously from deer, fish, bears, pumas, fowls, the earth, the wind, and so forth.[3] These stocks or clans were probably totemic.

Avoidance of a wife's relations.

P. 361. **The custom which obliges a man and his mother-in-law to avoid each other.**—A few more instances of this custom as it is or was observed by various American tribes may be given here. Among the low savages of the Californian peninsula a man was not allowed for some time to look into the face of his mother-in-law or of his wife's other near relations; when these women were present, he had to step aside or hide himself.[4] Among the Indians of the Isla del Malhado in Florida a father-in-law and mother-in-law might not enter the house of their son-in-law, and he on his side might not appear before his father-in-law and his relations. If they met by accident they had to go apart to the distance of a bowshot, holding their heads down and their eyes turned to the earth. But a woman was free to converse with the father and mother of her husband.[5] Among the Indians of Yucatan, if a betrothed man saw his future father-in-law or mother-in-law at a distance, he turned away as quickly as possible, believing that a meeting with them would prevent him from begetting children.[6] The reason thus assigned for the custom of avoidance is remarkable and, so far as I remember, unique. Among the Arawaks of British Guiana a man

[1] F. G. Speck, *Ethnology of the Yuchi Indians*, pp. 112-115.

[2] F. G. Speck, *op. cit.* p. 69.

[3] A. S. Gatschet, "Volk und Sprach der Timucua," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix. (1877) pp. 247 *sq.*

[4] J. Baegert, "An Account of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Californian Peninsula," *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1863*, p. 368.

[5] Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca, *Relation et Naufrages* (Paris, 1837), pp. 109 *sq.* (in Ternaux-Compans' *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*). The original of this work was published in Spanish at Valladolid in 1555. Compare A. de Herrera, *The General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America*, translated by Capt. John Stevens (London, 1725, 1726), iv. 34.

[6] Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale*, ii. 52 *sq.*

may never see the face of his wife's mother. If she is in the house with him, they must be separated by a screen or partition-wall; if she travels with him in a canoe, she steps in first, in order that she may turn her back to him.[1] Among the Caribs "the women never quit their father's house, and in that they have an advantage over their husbands in as much as they may talk to all sorts of people, whereas the husband dare not converse with his wife's relations, unless he is dispensed from this observance either by their tender age or by their intoxication. They shun meeting them and make great circuits for that purpose. If they are surprised in a place where they cannot help meeting, the person addressed turns his face another way so as not to be obliged to see the person, whose voice he is compelled to hear."[2] Thus both among the Caribs and the Indians of the Isla del Malhado, while a man had to avoid the relations of his wife, a woman was free to converse with the relations of her husband. This confirms the observation that the taboo which separates a man from his mother-in-law is in general more stringent than the taboo which separates a woman from her father-in-law.[3]

Marriage of near kin among the Caribs.

P. 362. **Instances of men united to their mothers, their sisters, or their daughters, . . . are far from rare.**—Similarly of the Caribs it is said that "they have no prohibited degree of consanguinity among them: fathers have been known to marry their own daughters, by whom they had children, and mothers to marry their sons. Though that is very rare, it is common enough to see two sisters, and sometimes a mother and daughter, married to the same man."[4]

P. 519. **The greatest misfortune of all is for a dancer to fall in the dance. . . . The unfortunate cannibal who fell in the dance used to be killed.**—Similarly in West Africa "it is a bad omen for a dancer to slip and fall when performing before the king of

[1] G. Klemm, *Allgemeine Cultur-Geschichte der Menschheit* (Leipsic, 1843-1852), ii. 77.

[2] J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amerique* (Paris, 1654), p. 419. A similar, but rather briefer, account of the custom is given by De la Borde, who may have borrowed from Du Tertre. See De la Borde, "Relation de l'origine, mœurs, coustumes, religion, guerres et voyages des Caraibes, sauvages des Isles Antilles de l'Amerique," p. 56 (in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique qui n'ont point esté encore publiez*, Paris, 1684).

[3] See above, vol. ii. p. 77.

[4] J. B. du Tertre, *Histoire generale des Isles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans l'Amerique* (Paris, 1654), p. 419. The evidence of De la Borde is similar. He says: "They take their wives without distinction of relationship, for they mix with each other indifferently, like beasts. I have seen some who had their daughters for wives." See De la Borde, "Relation de l'origine, etc., des Caraibes," p. 19 (in *Recueil de divers voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amerique*, Paris, 1684).

Dahomi, and, up to the reign of Gezo, any dancer who met with such an accident was put to death."[1]

Marriage with a niece among the South American Indians.

P. 575. **The true and legitimate wives in this country are the daughters of their sisters.**—Another old writer, speaking of the Brazilian Indians, says: "They are in the habit of marrying their nieces, the daughters of their brothers or of their sisters. They regard them as their legitimate wives: the father cannot refuse them, and no one else has a right to marry them."[2] Another of the earliest writers on Brazil observes of the Indians that "the only degrees of consanguinity observed in marriage are these: none of them takes his mother, sister, or daughter to wife: the rest are not reckoned: a paternal uncle marries his niece, and so on."[3] On the other hand, speaking of the Macusis of British Guiana, Sir R. Schomburgk observes: "The paternal uncle may never marry his niece, because that is regarded as a degree of relationship next to that of brother and sister; hence the paternal uncle is called *papa* just like the father. On the other hand, everybody is allowed to marry his sister's daughter, or his deceased brother's wife, or his stepmother, when his father is dead."[4]

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), p. 95.

[2] Pero de Magalhanes de Gandavo, *Histoire de la Province de Sancta-Cruz* (Paris, 1837), p. 115 (Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations, et mémoires originaux pour servir a l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*).

[3] J. Lerius, *Historia navigationis in Brasiliam* (1586), p. 232.

[4] R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana* (Leipsic, 1847-1848), ii. 318.

NOTES AND CORRECTIONS

VOLUME IV

P. 151, note [2]. **The Albanians are said to be exogamous.**—The part of Albania in which Miss M. Edith Durham reports exogamy to be still practised lies to the north of Scutari and bears the name of *Maltsia e madhe* or "the Great Mountain Land." It is a wilderness of grey and barren rock, where there is little land that can be brought under cultivation, and where large tracts are dependent for their supply of water on rain alone. This rugged and sterile region is the home of five great tribes, the Hoti, Gruda, Kastrati, Skreli, and Kilmeni.[1] The Albanian tribes.

Miss Durham's account of exogamy as it is practised by these tribes runs as follows:— Miss M. E. Durham's account of exogamy among the Albanians.

"The main fact is the tribe (*fis*). It has been both their strength and their weakness. Each tribe has a definite tale of origin. Descent is traced strictly through the male line, and the tradition handed from father to son through memories undebauched by print.

"The head of each *fis* is its hereditary standard-bearer, the *Bariaktar*. The office passes from father to son, or in default of son to the next heir male. The standard is now a Turkish one. Only the Mirdites have a distinctive flag with a rayed-sun upon it.

"Some large tribes are divided into groups, each with its own *Bariaktar*. A division thus marching under one standard (*bariak*) is called a *bariak*. Such a *bariak* may be descended from a different stock from the rest of the tribe, or the division may have been made for convenience when the tribe grew large.

"The men and women descending from a common male ancestor, though very remote, regard one another as brother and sister, and marriage between them is forbidden as incestuous. Though the relationship be such that the Catholic Church permits marriage, it is regarded with such genuine horror that I have

[1] Miss M. Edith Durham, *High Albania* (London, 1909), p. 19.

Exogamy among the Albanians.

heard of but one instance where it was attempted or desired, when against tribal law. Even a native priest told me that a marriage between cousins separated by twelve generations was to him a horrible idea, though the Church permitted it, 'for really they are brothers and sisters.'

"The mountain men have professed Christianity for some fifteen centuries, but tribe usage is still stronger than Church law. A man marries and gives his daughter in marriage outside his tribe, except when that tribe contains members of a different stock, or when it has been divided into *bariaks* considered distant enough for intermarriage. But in spite of this exogamy, it would appear that, through the female line, the race may have been fairly closely inbred. For a man does not go far for a wife, but usually takes one from the next tribe, unless that tribe be consanguineous. If not so debarred, he takes a wife thence and marries his daughter there. Kastrati, for example, usually marries Hoti, and Hoti Kastrati. The bulk of the married women in one were born in the other. A perpetual interchange of women has gone on for some centuries."[1]

The occurrence of exogamy in two widely separated peoples of the Aryan stock, namely, the Albanians and the Hindoos, renders it probable that exogamy was at one time practised by all members of the Aryan family.

If this account of exogamy in Albania is correct, as we may assume it to be, some important consequences flow from it. So long as exogamy was known to be practised by the Hindoos alone of all the peoples of the Aryan stock, it was possible to suppose, as I have suggested,[2] that the institution may not have been native to them but may have been borrowed by their ancestors from the dark-skinned aborigines of India among whom they settled, and among whom both exogamy and totemism would seem to have been universally prevalent. But when we find exogamy practised to this day by a semi-barbarous people of Europe, the case is altered. The Albanians are not in contact with any savages from whom they could have borrowed the institution. It would appear, therefore, that they must have inherited it from their remote ancestors. And if they have done so, it becomes probable that the Hindoos have done so also. Now if two branches of the Aryan stock so different and so remote from each other as the Hindoos of India and the Albanians of Turkey in Europe could both be proved to have inherited the practice of exogamy from their rude and distant progenitors of a prehistoric age, it would become probable that exogamy had at one time been practised by all the other members of the great Aryan family; and since, as I have already pointed out,[3] the institution of exogamy appears to have been in its origin a system of group marriage, which in turn displaced a previous custom of sexual promiscuity, it would follow that all the peoples of the Aryan family have at some period of their social

[1] Miss M. Edith Durham, *High Albania* (London, 1909), pp. 20 *sq.*

[2] See above, vol. ii. p. 330.

[3] See above, vol. iv. pp. 137 *sqq.*

evolution passed through the stages of sexual promiscuity and group marriage before they reached the higher stage of monogamy and the prohibited degrees. But this is a subject on which further research into the matrimonial institutions of the Aryans may yet throw light.

P. 298. **The Leech folk . . . are required to chew a leech. . . . The Jute folk . . . were bound to chew a certain quantity of jute.**—These customs should apparently be added to the very few known instances of a totem sacrament.[1] The totem sacrament.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 120, vol. ii. p. 590, vol. iv. pp. 230-232.

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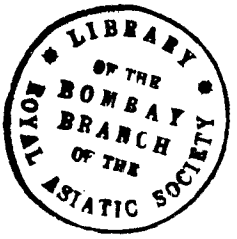

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